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COLUMN BY U. S. SEN. HUMPHREY



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# **POLITICS**

## **AN OUTSIDER'S VIEW**

### **UNDER-REPRESENTATION: A MYTH**

### **IN MISSOURI: 3,936=53,015**

### **RECORD OF HOUSE & SENATE BILLS**

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**RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION IN CLUBS**  
**THE FAR RIGHT**

Poems by Conrad Knickerbocker and Donald Finkel  
Reviews by Harold Hamil, Donald R. Murphy, and Charles Guenther

# OUT OF FOCUS

*(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)*

In western Utah, scientists have announced that Utah children under two years received last year two to 28 times as much radioactive Iodine 131 in less than a month than US Government standards called safe for an entire year.

From Mary H. Weik's *Window on the World*

Good Housekeeping (Sept. 1963) reports on "Fallout Dangers in Food" and quotes government officials that programs to protect food from excessive radioactive contamination have been expanded, but that more can be done. "Government action falls far short of the recommendations made in 1962 by the National Advisory Committee on Radiation. Dr. Russell H. Morgan, radiologist-in-chief of John Hopkins Hospital and chairman of the committee, says a small start has been made on the committee's recommendations, but that funds have been limited. His committee had recommended a budget of \$25 million for the Public Health Service radiation control program in the 1963 fiscal year. The budget approved by Congress was about \$16 million." (Plans are under way to test the removal of strontium 90 from milk. The pilot program is being conducted in Missouri.)

The girls at the Gayety Burlesk in Washington, D.C. were left with barely anything to take off. Somebody stole all their G-strings and grass skirts. A detective's estimate that the loss totaled \$473 was challenged by Sam Goldburg, manager, who said it was more like \$3000. "That stuff costs. A good G-string with rhinestones will run you \$50," he said. "It has to be custom-made."

From the *Kansas City Star*

A foreign oil company, sensitive to Libya's Islamic opposition to alcohol, notified its employes: "In the future, there will be no more shipping of cases of whisky that are obviously cases of whisky on company aircraft."

From the *Associated Press*

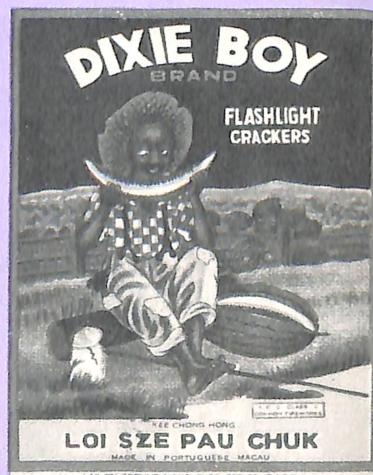
Senator Russell B. Long (D., La.) had instructed all women working in his office not to report to work on August 28, the day of the March on Washington. Sen. Long said the presence of so many Negroes on the streets would make it unsafe for white women. Although he was not advocating violence, he said "I would just as soon the whole thing broke out into riots."

From *The Kansas City Call*

The Alabama State Department of Education, Montgomery, Alabama, prepares a "Directory of White Librarians in Alabama." It is free of charge.

Pop art par excellence: the cliche incarnate. It is an actual label from a brand of firecrackers. The original is superbly colored: red lips, suspenders, and melon; yellow shirt and hat; white patches on blue jeans.

Submitted by Peter Geist, St. Louis.



## CREDITS:

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FOCUS/Midwest

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*If the John Birch Society had the power to make its policies those of the nation, it would be more effectively subversive than the Communist Party.*



# Letters

## Circulating Art Exhibit

F/M: We were pleased indeed to see the note in that last number of *FOCUS/Midwest* calling attention to the circulating exhibitions which have been prepared by the Krannert Art Museum. We think this is quite an important development in making available on a statewide basis some of the excellent resources which are developing in the Museum here. Your help in publicizing this is much appreciated.

I want to take this occasion, too, to congratulate you on the development of the magazine. Every issue has important and interesting material in it, and I hope it will have a long and productive life. We are grateful to you.

Allen S. Weller, Dean  
College of Fine and Applied Arts  
University of Illinois

## On Writing Letters

F/M: . . . I just returned from St. Louis. Have no fear that your magazine is not being read. Everywhere I went there was someone who wanted to tell me how awful they thought my letter was (published in *FOCUS/Midwest* May, 1963). In Washington all the ex-St. Louisians liked the letter. Most of my family will hardly speak to me. They think I am a traitor to my class. Further they maintain that every town is the same. Maybe they are right. I think on re-reading that I might have given too much credit to Washington. I enjoyed St. Louis — but then the Veiled Prophet came on Yom Kippur and the truth of my charge came through loud and clear.

William B. Milius  
Washington, D.C.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Milius charged in his first letter that St. Louis is run by an "Establishment of Family" rather than one of "Achievement" as Washington D.C.)

## Freedom Forum

F/M: *FOCUS/Midwest* is the best thing that has happened to this part of the world in the 25 years I have

been in it (that is, all my life).

Your editorial (July 1963) mentions that the Freedom Forum was sponsored this year by the Missouri Chamber of Commerce, the Missouri Farm Bureau Federation, and the Missouri Military Academy. I am very happy to report that the Mexico Junior Chamber of Commerce did NOT spend \$100 this year to send two children to it, as has been their habit in the past.

A young lawyer of this community and member of the Jaycees decided to fight against it. You certainly know that this part of the state is called "Little Dixie" and for good reason. It is also a stronghold of Bircherism. We did not know of your October 1962 article about the Freedom Forum. This lawyer and I spent half the day looking through all the resources I have to find these people, that is, the speakers that their brochure advertised as world acclaimed authorities. We found the President of Harding College in Who's Who and the Time article about Birchers with some reference to the Harding College crew. So we went to our Jaycee brethren, the majority of whom are arch conservatives and employed by arch conservatives and convinced them NOT to support the Forum this year on the basis that they were practicing false advertising — these speakers obviously were not known for their work in any field and the few remarks we did find about one individual identified him as the head of an unimportant ultra-conservative college tucked away in the hills of Arkansas.

So you see, some of us are learning, even if it takes a little force-feeding.

Citizen of  
Mexico, Mo.

## Supports Referendum On Fair Housing

F/M: An important outgrowth of the passage of the Chicago Fair Housing Ordinance is the movement by the opponents of the Ordinance for a statewide Referendum on Fair Housing. The opponents feel they can easily win in such a Referendum. Unfortunately most workers for equal

housing opportunity regard the Referendum as a "threat" and as possibly a serious setback to the whole movement for remolding public sentiment to favor equal housing opportunity for all citizens.

We submit the thought here that the proposed Referendum should be accepted as a great challenge by the workers for Freedom of Residence, for the discussion of the Referendum in every Illinois community could guide people in the direction of stripping from present public sentiment all myth and fancy about the "difference in a man of color." To this end, those people working to achieve Fair Housing Practices should insist upon a positive — not a negative — wording of the proposed Referendum.

The Illinois Law regarding Referendums is contained in Article 28 of Chapter 46 of the Illinois Revised Statutes (Elections — submitting questions of public policy).

There is nothing in the law about Referendums that requires a negative wording or the use of subjective terms such as "force" which the proponents of the Illinois Referendum have announced they intend to use. The time is very short to speak up and insist upon a positive wording of such a Referendum that does not beg the question.

In other words, the proposal of having a Referendum on Fair Housing might be used to distinct advantage by all people to marshal the total leadership of each community for specific, positive individual commitment to achieve Fair Housing. Do we have the imagination, the courage, and the strength to accept this challenge?

To this same end, consideration should be given to suggesting Referendums in specific municipalities, separate from any state-wide Referendum. Workers to remodel public sentiment can use the Referendum technique to clearly state the issues before the public and essentially instruct the legislative body of the municipality to at least issue public policy statements which — perhaps more than anything else — would encourage builders, bankers, brokers,

community planners and other businessmen to reshape their individual actions accordingly.

Donald S. Frey  
Evanston, Illinois

### Opposes One-Term Rule For Missouri Governor

F/M: A problem which has been of increasing concern during recent years relates to the constitutional restriction which denies a governor the right to succeed himself in office. The survival of the ineligibility rule in Missouri from the time of the first constitution of 1820 to the present reveals that the restriction on successive terms is a firmly established tradition. For a short period under the Constitution of 1865 when the governor's term was reduced to two years, a governor was permitted to succeed himself in office but was not permitted to serve more than four years in a period of six. The 1875 Constitution restored the four year term and the ineligibility rule. The 1945 Constitution made no change in the arrangement.

The arguments stressed in behalf of the rule are based largely on the fear that without the restriction bossism would flourish in state government. The proponents like to emphasize that it suppresses the lust for power, that it removes the temptation to use the patronage to insure continuance in office, and that it gives executives greater freedom from narrow partisan considerations in their conduct of the office.

In spite of the above arguments, however, there is a strong consensus among students of government today that the ineligibility provisions of state constitutions are highly objectionable and should be eliminated.

State governments today as perhaps never before are desperately in need of effective executive leadership. To insure such leadership the job of governor must be sufficiently attractive to interest the best available talent in aspiring to the office. The one-term restriction discourages many highly competent persons from seeking the position.

It is inherently undemocratic, since it deprives the people of the right to re-elect a person who may be the one best qualified for the job. Why should Missouri citizens be denied the opportunity to pass judgment upon a particular governor's pro-

gram and the conduct of his administration? Strong governors, if the restriction were removed, could not only initiate programs, but might also, with the prospect of re-election, hope to follow through and see to the establishment of their programs on a sound and continuing basis.

The prohibition against two successive terms guarantees disruption of state administration every four years. It not only means a new governor at the head of administration every four years, but the restriction also carries with it a heavy turnover in heads of agencies directly responsible to the governor.

Governors are legislators as well as administrators, and the governor's role as a legislative leader is narrowly confined by the one-term arrangement. His situation is rendered politically unwholesome after the first biennial legislative session, since by then even his limited patronage will have been dispensed, and he will be unable to make a bid for a second term. During his second legislative session, therefore, respect for his role as legislative leader will be in a state of decline. In this situation, candidates who have a good chance of winning are likely to have more influence than an incumbent governor.

The tendency in the states is definitely away from the limitation on successive terms. Thirty-five states have no such restriction, although seven of these limit the governor to two successive terms. There is no evidence to indicate that states without the limitation have suffered more from bossism and machine politics in state government than the states with the limitation.

Bossism and machine politics, when and where it exists in state politics and government, is the product of a complex political, economic, and social environment, and the mere presence of a constitutional limitation on successive terms for the chief executive will not prove much of a restraining force.

If this limitation on successive terms is removed, the remaining re-

strictions on a governor's power will be ample to prevent him building a machine to perpetuate himself in office. Considerably less than one-fourth of our state jobs today are within the Governor's patronage orbit. Our two party system, and the wide ramifications of effective legislative and judicial controls over administration that are available can readily curb dangerous thrusts for power by the chief executive. Finally, the conspicuous nature of the governor's office makes it the continuous focus of public attention. This in itself is a restraining force which no governor can afford to ignore. With all these controls, it is inconceivable that removal of the ineligibility rule will pose any serious threat to our system of self-government.

Martin L. Faust  
Professor of Political Science  
University of Missouri

### Outlaw Garnishments

F M: You may be interested to know of the reaction in the city of Chicago to my article "Outlaw Garnishments" which appeared in the July 1963 issue of *FOCUS Midwest*. The *Chicago Daily News*, the leading newspaper in our city, devoted an editorial to the article. One of the highest city officials personally invited me to a conference and asked me to submit suggestions for legal changes. In addition, I was stunned at the number of people who stopped me on the street, phoned, or wrote. There was strong dissent, but all were grateful that these conditions were aired. It is my feeling that as a result Chicago is not as complacent as before about these conditions.

Since the article was published an additional fact has come to light supporting my thesis: More bankruptcies were filed in 1963 than any other year and 90 percent of these were non-business filings.

Mark J. Satter  
Chicago

**ART-MART INC.**

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### Privacy and Prejudice

**V**ALID arguments can be offered in defense of and in opposition to a discriminatory policy of private clubs. In this issue we present "Religious Discrimination in Social Clubs," excerpts from a study by the Anti-Defamation League. It aptly presents the case against bias, while recognizing the legal privilege of maintaining discriminatory social clubs.

It may be, unfortunately, asking the impossible of the average member to fight such policies. But, there should be no doubt what course of action the many distinguished public figures should take. Public trust has raised them to a symbolic position which includes their private life.

For example, St. Louis Mayor Raymond R. Tucker and St. Louis County Supervisor Lawrence K. Roos are members of the Missouri Athletic Club, although Section 10 of the MAC By-Laws states: "Resident Members — Qualification — Any male white person, not under 21 years of age, whose application therefor has been duly approved by the Board of Governors, and who maintains a residence or place of business in the City of St. Louis or in any of the following counties . . . shall be eligible to Resident membership."

President Harry S. Truman is not only a member of St. Louis' Missouri Athletic Club but also of the Kansas City Club, with an allegedly similar policy.

We are recommending not only that these leaders — and others in similar clubs such as the Lake Shore Club and the Illinois Athletic Club in Chicago — resign, but that they do so — we are tempted to say — in the legendary Truman style; which will leave no doubt that such bias is in conflict with their values and those they would like to see American institutions embrace.

At a Democratic party gathering honoring Senator Young (D., Ohio), former President Harry S. Truman declared: ". . . if the northern busy bodies would stay at home and clean up their own backyards, the rest of the country will obey its laws. Those Southerners are anxious to do what the law requires them to do. They want to give equal right to Negroes."

All right, let us start in *our* backyards.

### The Smaller Magazines

**W**e are publishing Mr. Satter's and Mr. Milius' letters because they boldly underline the effectiveness of *FOCUS/Midwest* and by implication that of many smaller, quality magazines. While the very nature of our

magazine makes it acceptable to the few rather than the many, it is through the few that the many can be moved.

But not only has the magazine an influential readership, its articles have been reprinted and mentioned in numerous newspapers and publications through which literally hundreds of thousands have been reached. During the past year the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Daily News*, the *St. Louis Argus*, and the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, among others, have republished eight articles and a page of poems. Some of the above and scores of others — including newspapers such as the *Kansas City Star* and stately magazines such as the *Columbia Journalism Review* and the *Library Journal* — have reviewed *FOCUS/Midwest* at length. Columnists and commentators have made frequent references to *FOCUS/Midwest*. Only this week a Kansas City radio newscaster wrote that he has used the magazine to great advantage.

Incidentally, if you come across "case histories" showing how *FOCUS/Midwest* has influenced a situation or events, please share your knowledge with us.

### Political Roundup

**T**HIS issue winds up the presentation of state voting records covered for the past six months. The space-consuming rows of symbols may not have been a handsome sight, but they were the only source — except for the House and Senate Journals — to check on all the legislators on all the important issues. We had to prepare these records from scratch. (The federal voting records are a service of the authoritative *Congressional Quarterly*.) It is worthwhile to note that we had no intention of compiling these records ourselves. We were forced to do so after we tried in vain to obtain this editorial help from the universities, from the wire services, and other sources. The two states we covered are, unfortunately, bicameral — this meant checking four journals (a day) for bills passed, deciding whether they deserve to be summarized and publicized, and recording the roll calls. We are glad it is over — and this is no reflection on the General Assemblies.

We are not really enamored of tabulations and figures although our readers may think so after looking through this issue. We confess that we have a preference for clear facts over wishy-washy generalizations. When so much writing just drips with opinions, unsubstantiated and impressionistic, the featured tabulations may even represent a refreshing interval.

# A Window of Hope

By

# Hubert H. Humphrey



*FOCUS/Midwest is proud to publish the first of a regular, exclusive column by United States Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.*

THE year 1963 may be remembered always as the year in which mankind took the first step in the direction of a secure and enduring peace. The turning point was the nuclear test ban treaty.

By a decisive 80 to 19 vote, the Senate agreed to a treaty which suspends the testing of any nuclear weapon or device in the atmosphere, underwater, or in outer space. Only underground testing is exempted. The Senate approved the treaty after full and searching debate, and after exhaustive committee examination. As one who has worked for a safeguarded test ban treaty for more than seven years, I am pleased with the result.

And I am confident that the American people concur with this step. Some may tend to neutralize the significance of the treaty, by an over-emphasis on the fact that it represents a small step.

The step taken towards peace has been small. It's tremendous importance, however, lies in its direction — and the fact that we have been able to take any step at all. Having taken one step toward slowing the arms race, we can hope to take others which will reduce or eliminate the risks of the nuclear age. The treaty, which pulls us away from a point of no return in the arms race, is thus a tremendous step as a sign of hope in what had been a long night of frustration.

The security of our nation is essential. I support a strong U. S. defense force. In the face of threat and unwillingness to compromise, no nation can relax its guard. Yet it is contrary to the spirit and the moral sense of peace-loving people to prepare only for war and not for peace. We have been trapped in a grim necessity in which our duties were in conflict with our hopes. We must always seek a way out of this paradox.

We have not jeopardized our security with this treaty. The overwhelm-

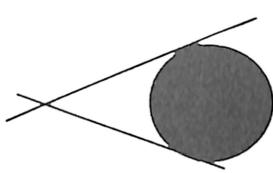
ing weight of testimony of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, most scientists, and two Presidents must be decisive here. The risks of *not* taking this step have far outweighed any rational doubts that could be raised about taking it.

We are getting at least two substantive benefits beyond hope. One is to cut that atmospheric testing which give off silent, but deadly poison of radioactive fallout. Secondly, we are taking a step towards a foundation of agreement among nations that may lead to more durable international institutions with a respect for law and its procedures. Ultimately this is essential. Without such institutions, armed force will never secure peace nor protect it.

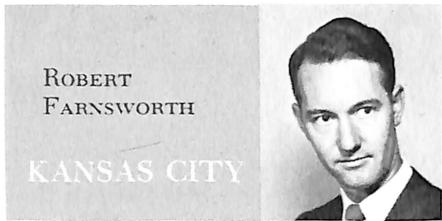
The U. S. will not enter into any agreements in which it does not expect an advantage. Neither will the Kremlin. However, it is logical that all people — including the Russians — wish to live too, that they do not wish to see their children harmed, or to have the good earth upon which we depend for life poisoned for generations.

I do not expect Communists to waver in their efforts for world domination. Nor do I believe we shall relax our conviction that freedom and representative democracy must be advanced internationally. I do believe it possible that each side can possess the common sense and realism to permit the verdict between our ways of life to be rendered in time and history. Atomic war would annihilate history. Only peace can permit a judgment that need not bury anybody.

This is not a Russian treaty. It is an American one, which we have promoted for years and which was drafted in Washington. There is nothing secret about it. All we need to be concerned about is, "Will mankind have the moral integrity to abide by it?" The treaty was necessary to honor the future with hope rather than to foreclose it with despair, or nullify it with cynicism.



## DATELINES



At a public meeting of the Tavern Owners Association held in the headquarters of the Association for Freedom of Choice, Mr. Charles V. Genova, President of the Tavern Owners, said: "The time is just not right to mix the two races in a tavern for mixed drinking and dancing. We may never have any trouble from the two or four Negro persons who might come in our tavern. They might act as perfect gentlemen and ladies, but that other 99 per cent of our trade would sit there and drink and fume and eventually work themselves up into a violent temper and then the lid blows off."

Mr. Genova would refuse service to Negro gentlemen and ladies not because of their lack of any social grace, but because 99 per cent of his white clientele are not yet ready to come up to the likely Negro customer's standard of conduct.

This is a curious argument which might be much resented by Mr. Genova's patrons. But if Mr. Genova seemed evasive in his attempt to avoid the racist's position, T. L. McCormick, executive director of the Association for Freedom of Choice, had no such qualms. From the same platform at the same meeting, Mr. McCormick stated emphatically, "I am somewhat tired of being pushed around by the black and those who are black although they may have a white skin."

These two organizations — the Tavern Owners Association and the Association for Freedom of Choice — are leading an effort to bring Kansas City's recently extended Public Accommodations bill to a referendum in which they hope the popular vote will reverse the decision of the Kansas City Council. Thus Kansas City's social maturity is challenged anew.

There exists a widely felt inarticulate resistance and resentment

to the surge of civil rights activity.

As the remarks of Mr. Genova and Mr. McCormick indicate, this resistance is not rational. But for that very reason it generates a respect which borders on fear particularly in men and institutions that depend on public support. Local office holders for the most part have been stepping gingerly lately where they have had to step at all.

Mayor Davis, recently appearing on a panel with John Howard Griffin, author of *Black Like Me*, suggested that it would be regrettable if the Tavern Owners Association would set the moral tone of Kansas City. The *Kansas City Star* has also deplored efforts to repeal the Public Accommodations ordinance. Yet these pronouncements are more like the testing moves of a wary boxer trying to get a line on his opponent than like deliberately aimed knockout punches.

The comments of the Mayor and the *Star* seem to indicate that the Citizens Association-dominated Council will probably pass the Public Accommodations bill again when forced to reconsider it by petition, but few expect the *Star* or the Mayor to lead a fight for the bill. The *Star* rarely crusades except for the Citizens Association, and the Mayor also seems to prefer the high-minded, gentlemanlike, approach which cannot reach the emotion-rooted resentment which could defeat the bill.

The PA bill has also pointed up the glaring organizational problems of the Independent Voters Association, a hangover from the recent municipal elections. Councilwoman Billie Hagan, an IVA backed candidate, has led the fight against the bill, although Gerald Gisler, Lyman Field, and other IVA leaders publicly supported it. Dutton Brookfield, IVA standard bearer, has remained discreetly at home. But right winger Mrs. Elizabeth Kernodle and Mrs. Wayne Morse, who embarrassed Mr. Brookfield by appearing with him in a photograph during the mayoral campaign, are at it again as members of the executive board of the Association for Freedom of Choice. The IVA attempts to hold the right wing Republican vote and woo the Negro vote — a most difficult task.

The women's vote is one potential

area of strength. If the ladies come to resent the leadership of the Tavern Owners Association in attacking the bill and if the League of Women Voters makes a strong effort in favor of the bill, then the future of the bill looks bright.

A second major area of potential support outside of the Negro community is in the churches and synagogues. And it is here where there is probably the most hope for reaching and controlling the irrational resentment which threatens to defeat the bill. Church leaders have shown increasing interest and support in the civil rights struggle.

The only significant political organization fervently committed to the PA bill is Freedom, Inc., an all-Negro organization. Freedom, Inc., the NAACP, CCSA, and CORE, along with other civil rights groups consequently will almost certainly form the center of support for the bill, and much will depend on their efforts to produce a sizable vote.

MARK M.  
PERLBURG

CHICAGO



The best evaluation that I have seen of the controversial new business known as Pop Art appears in the summer issue of "Partisan Review." It was written by Peter Selz of the Museum of Modern Art, in New York. I'll pass along Selz's principal conclusions, and add one or two of my own.

Selz is careful to define Pop Art, and also to say what it is not. It is not the work of the "junk artists," who reassemble used and discarded objects "often with stunning and mordantly amusing results." It is not the work of the so-called Hard Edge painters, such as Kenneth Noland, who have been achieving interesting "new images by staining their canvases with simple shapes of decorative colors." It is also not the work of a "rising generation of figure painters," such as Golub or Diebenkorn, who depict simplified, isolated, and in the case of Golub, maimed, loners.

Nor can Pop Artists be broadened to include someone like H. C. Westerman, whose wood and metal constructions, using articles from popular culture, make "metaphorical statements about the violent and ambiguous quality of contemporary life."

Pop Art is based on the mass media — on slick magazines, ads, billboards, comics, television, and it uses the techniques of commercial art for its effect such as the air brush, the simulated benday screen.

Selz wisely finds nothing intrinsically wrong with the *means* of Pop Art. He writes: "After fifty years of brilliant invention in collage and assemblage, nobody would be justified in suggesting that any technique is taboo." But he quarrels, and I quarrel, with the *end* result. "Most of them," says Selz, "have nothing to say."

What are the end products, and I do mean products, of Pop Art? They are paintings of cans of soup, pies, ice cream, juke boxes, huge blow-ups of comic strips, complete with the balloons containing the "speech" of the comic strip characters. I would also include "sculptures" of giant hamburgers, that sit on museum and gallery floors and hence have been called floorburgers, and a man's shirt and tie dunked in plaster-of-paris or some similar material and hung over the back of a chair.

It is said in defense of the Pop Artists that they are creating objects that are satiric in nature; and/or that they show us the world that we have loused up for ourselves, with its auto junkyards, billboards that

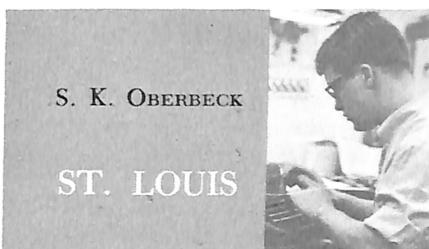
blot out sylvan scenes, etc. But it is exactly here that Selz's critique is so penetrating. Instead of satire, which implies a working system of values, Selz finds in Pop Art only a *passive* acceptance of the world as it is. We are offered instead the opposite of satire: an uncritical acceptance of the Great American Dream. ("A critical examination of ourselves and the world we inhabit is no longer hip.") Further, Selz points out that the array of food in the subject matter of Pop Art suggests "infantile personalities capable only of ingesting, not of digesting or of interpreting."

The critic finds a number of other things in and around Pop Art that are reprehensible, such as the broad-scale use of Madison Avenue techniques in the gleeful merchandising of Pop Art, particularly in the introduction of "planned obsolescence" into the art world — i.e. — Abstract Expressionism is *out*; Pop Art is *in*. What's good for General Motors . . .

But I would like to stress, especially, one aspect of this pointed criticism: the *passivity* of the Pop Artist. The essential trouble with Pop Art is that it surrenders the will of the artist and his imagination as well. The Pop Artist does not select elements of his inner and outer environments and fuse them into a subtle and/or powerful object which exists independently of the artist and which can be returned to again and again with value by the viewer. On the contrary. Says Selz: "The productions of the Pop Artist are hardly worth

the kind of contemplation a real work of art demands." He compares Pop Art to the 19th century horse paintings of Rosa Bonheur. Doubtless we can include Landseer's dog-and-wounded-stag paintings.

In my view, the Pop Artist is a kind of human litmus paper who soaks up and transmits, without ever re-shaping, elements of the *zeitgeist*. Hence, in his pure form (hamburgers; comic blow-ups), he is scarcely an artist at all. He is a reporter, recording rather mindlessly events that happen to have happened around him. He lacks will, intelligence and of course the quality that distinguishes the artist in all the arts. "Coleridge called this quality, "the shaping spirit of imagination." Underline imagination.



My finger — the one with the band-aid — is pointed at the conspiracy of tab-top beer can manufacturers. They are mutilating some fine, old traditions as well as my finger.

In this regard, I spent almost an entire morning trying to find out the derivation of the term "church key," meaning beer-can opener. I want to work up a eulogy for its imminent demise.

Only to write about such a subject — e.g., *church keys*, the *precipitous decline and deeper meaning of* — pains me sorely. It pains me because my fingers look like I already went roaring down to the can people's office, stiff-armed the glass door of the reception room, and ended up by putting my wrathful hand right through it.

We went to a beer party, you see. So I can now speak with cicatrical authority about that innovation in progressive beer packaging so in keeping with the modern American idiom, flip, zip and tab. I am speaking of the tab-top can, first introduced to me as I swerved to avoid an oncoming car while looking at a billboard.

Pretty girls opening tab-top cans of beer as easily as you brush away a gnat, those delicate, slim fingers brushing away the tab, those effervescent smiles, the firesides and promising bear rugs in the back

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grounds of the bill boards and all that beer looked so wonderful. Under that bright and cheery advertising campaign, the tab-top appeared in its disguise ("Lift Tab — Pull Open," invites the top of the can fulsomely). Husbands, wives, sweethearts, flip, zip, and tab your way to euphoria!

But keep first-aid close by. Because lifting and pulling 25 to 30 tabs was about as bright and cheery as falling into a school of hungry piranha, which — incidentally — can strip a cow to bare bones in less than 20 minutes. They need more time to demolish a tab-top can, since it can fight back and probably would.

Its appetite for human flesh and blood seems to me no less rapacious than the Amazon fish's. More than one of you, I am sure, has sucked reflectively at a bleeding finger while incredulously regarding the innocent-looking tab that inflicted the wound. It is only two aluminum pieces of conspicuous waste, but they are edged like daggers and stamped together at an angle so murderous, it must have been calculated by Dr. Guillotin's grandson, on a free-lance basis for the American beer packaging people.

And the little devils are so capricious! You need the knee-on-chest ruthlessness and force of a frontier dentist to get them open sometimes. And once the tab is bent or wrenched away, the drinking aperature brandishes its shape; that is, a bare, human foot with the toes lopped off. It too has the cutting edge comparable only to Edgar Allan Poe's pendulum.

By my latest investigations, the can people have two types of tabs on the market now, the 12B and the 14L. The difference? The newer 14L is by comparison the "heavenly matress" of beer tabs. It has a smooth edge to grasp with your thumb and remaining finger. Old 12B, however, still has the striking feel of a shark's mouth and was the can people's initial design. Notable perhaps is the fact that the number and letter designations on the tabs go higher as they are somewhat improved. I feel that is significant. If we must have tabs, I will wait patiently for model 29P or model 65Y. It just might take that long to work the bugs out.

I was brought up on the church key and am uncomfortable in the presence of tabs. They compromise a man. Secure and substantial, the old

style church key never failed once it was mastered. Now, with tabs, I must check my instinctive wish to give the can one good swipe, then another, then lift and drain. Now I must lift and pull, bend, jimmy, wadle left and right, curl back, etc. ("Oh, it's simple," protested Mrs. K. "You just use pliers!" Thank of it: disposable pliers in every handy 48 pack!)

And this reminds me that the current church key is far inferior to the older model, which was stout, dependable and had a hook as ruggedly curved as the beak of an American eagle. The new ones, shiny, shorter, have a foreshortened claw about the size of a lady's toe nail, bend easily, tend to slip or break under pressure. But even this effeminate model is better than none.

A lovely, young girl I know once came to my rescue when I forgot a church key for the beer we took to the country. "Oh, I've got one in my purse," this foresighted, independent creature exclaimed. Out it came, jingling among the keys on her key-ring. It added a definite luster to her attractiveness, her readiness in any emergency. In another few years, she might be carrying pliers. I hope not.

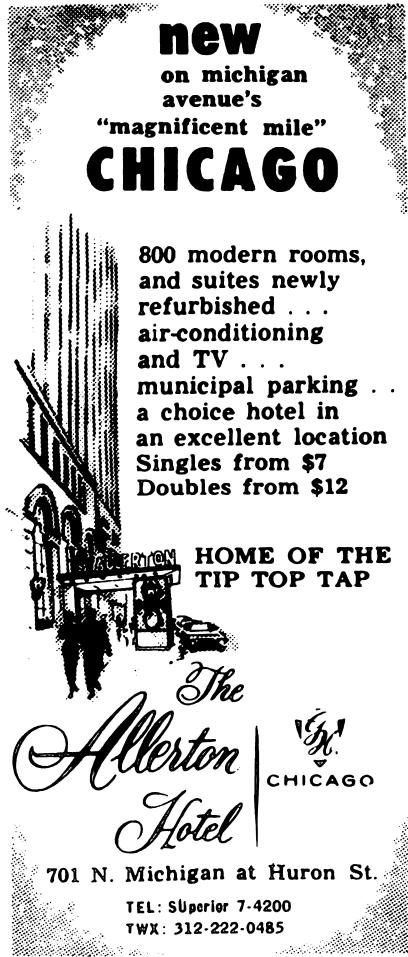
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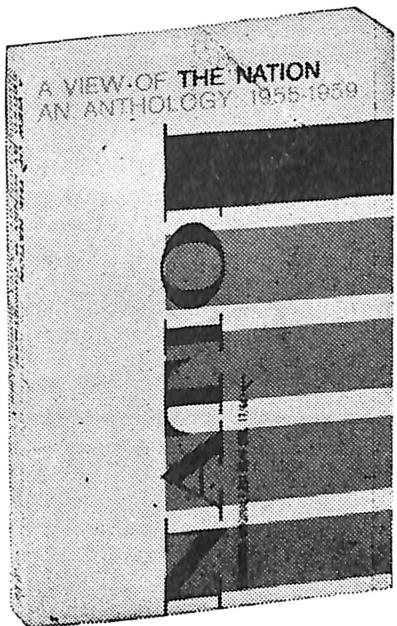
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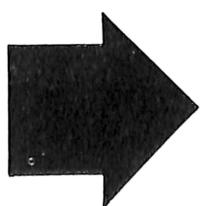
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## AN OUTSIDER'S VIEW OF THE ILLINOIS AND MISSOURI

# GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

Judith Burbank

**T**HE outsider's view of an existing institution can have a kind of validity denied to the participant or the professional reporter. In an editorial office many miles distant from Jefferson City and Springfield, our picture of the General Assemblies of Missouri and Illinois is built from newspaper clippings, partisan releases and studies, and legislative journals. Our view is necessarily incomplete; it is, however, free of the sort of distortion that has led a highly skilled reporter of the U.S. Senate, for instance, to produce an *apologia* for the filibuster. From our safe distance, then, this is how the recently concluded sessions of the two state legislatures look to us.

The legislatures of the two states are broadly similar. Both meet in state capitals many miles from the major city of the state; both meet for a six-month session every other year. That session begins in tranquility and ends in haste. The Illinois legislature is somewhat larger; in the upper house there are 58 senators, to Missouri's 34; in the lower house there are 177 representatives, to Missouri's 157. But there is something about the Illinois legislators that makes them more active, if not necessarily more productive, than their Missouri counterparts. The Illinois lawmakers introduce nearly three times as many bills as do the Missouri members. In the sessions just concluded 1205 bills and resolutions were introduced in the Missouri General Assembly; in Illinois the number was 3309.

The productivity of the legislature and possibly of the governor can be measured by the bills passed and vetoed. Missouri presented 287 laws to Governor Dalton. He vetoed 13. In Illinois nearly six times as many bills were approved by both houses. At the time of writing, 232 of 1615 were vetoed.

There are differences in atmosphere that filter through to the reader of the legislative journals of the two

states. The larger print and more generous spacing of the Missouri journals convey a sense of ordered, serious proceedings. The closely packed pages of the Illinois journals give a feeling of ceaseless activity. (Incidentally, in both we found errors in recording and counting of votes.) In both legislatures members are in constant motion, to and from the floor. On one vote there may be 30 Senators present in the Missouri chamber; on the next vote there are 24; and on the third there are 33.

Unfortunately, the reader of the legislative journals can have no idea of the level of debate on substantive issues. Such debates are not recorded. The printers do find space, however, for certain tribal rituals. Here each state and each house has folkways of its own. Resolutions in the Illinois Senate, printed in full, may be concerned with congratulations to a beauty contest winner (daughter of a senator), condolences on the death of a Chicago civil servant, accolades for the minority leadership. On this last occasion, a sparkle of wit enlivens the proceedings:

Whereas, the peerless and fearless leader of the minority forces of the Senate, the Honorable Donald J. O'Brien has during this session once more demonstrated those sterling qualities of leadership which we have come to expect from him; and...

Whereas, His brilliant efforts have conclusively demonstrated that the Democratic leadership in the Senate lacks only one thing — followers; therefore be it

Resolved, By the Senate of the Seventy-third General Assembly of the State of Illinois, that we express our admiration to our beloved colleague.

In the Missouri Senate is it customary to introduce visiting youngsters, have them made honorary pages for the day. When a bill comes to a vote in the Missouri Senate a stately ritual is followed. Senator X moves

that the bill be read for the third time. The motion is agreed to, the vote taken, and (most of the time) the bill is passed. Senator X then moves that the title be agreed to. The motion prevails. The same senator then moves that the vote by which the bill passed be reconsidered. At this point another senator moves to lay the preceding motion on the table. The latter motion prevails, and the bill is ordered enrolled. If the reader has followed carefully, he will know that the move to reconsider the bill is tabled — which means that it now takes a two-thirds and not a simple majority to reconsider the bill.

The first three months of the session pass in a leisurely fashion. The legislators assemble once or twice a week, as if they have not a care in the world. Along about April the pace increases slightly. In May and June they get down to business, meeting almost every day. The daily journals double and triple in size. In Illinois there seems to be a frantic effort to get to the bills still requiring attention. In Missouri there is a speedup too, but at a much more relaxed pace. If the Missouri legislature doesn't get around to considering certain bills at the bottom of the calendar, oh, well. This year Illinois tried a novel experiment: bills were introduced and processed before the opening of the General Assembly.

It would be instructive to find out whether prefiled bills did get preferential treatment. Administration tax reform bills were introduced earlier which, it is assumed, was partly responsible for their smooth sailing through the legislature.

**T**o the student of political science, looking for the conflict that is supposed to be the essence of politics, the voting practices of the two legislatures are surprising. If there is conflict over the passage of legislation, it has clearly been resolved by the time bills come up for a vote. On a day chosen at random, near the end of



Otto Kerner  
Governor of Illinois



John M. Dalton  
Governor of Missouri



the legislative session, 100 per cent of bills read for the third time passed in both houses of the Missouri legislature. The Illinois Senate on the same day passed 98 per cent of the bills it considered; the Illinois House 92 per cent.

What is even more surprising is the degree of unanimous voting that prevails in both states. In the Senates of both states 85 to 90 per cent of bills pass with no more than two negative votes. The lower chambers are more contentious; in the Illinois House about 60 per cent of bills receive a near-unanimous vote while in the Missouri House the roll-calls reveal real conflict over the outcome.

Roll calls in the Illinois legislature fall into definite groupings; on those votes on which there is controversy, bloc voting is apparent. In Missouri, where the absence of urban machines and the governor's lack of patronage prevent the building of stable legislative blocs, each legislator must decide individually how he stands on each bill. This means that a greater degree of conflict is apparent on the floor; it also means that the legislative process proceeds more slowly in Missouri than in Illinois.

The substance of legislation in both states is similar, and this is a natural response to very similar problems. During the recent sessions, major concerns were education, social welfare, civil rights, Sunday closing, mental health, city-state relationships, judicial systems, and taxes. The Missouri legislature dealt with some of its problems adequately. It modernized the laws dealing with criminal procedures involving the mentally ill, set up three state-operated intensive care centers for the mentally ill, increased aid to the blind and the aged and medical care of the indigent, increased aid to public schools, set up two new branches of the state university, established a

commission on higher education, increased taxes, and set up a "Little Hoover" commission.

Illinois managed to redistrict its own House (a feat of political adjustment later nullified by a veto from Governor Kerner), give voters the opportunity to adopt annual sessions of the legislature, pass a curfew for teenagers, permit the daily recitation of four lines from the Star Spangled Banner including the words "in God is our trust" (apparently a move to spite the Supreme Court, this action was also vetoed), approve a record mental health budget, create a new Department of Children and Family Services, adopt a new code on commitment to mental institutions, and approve a set of nature preserve bills.

The Illinois legislature spent the largest part of its session in an extended argument over how to take care of relief recipients and their children, while making the burden more bearable to the taxpayer. The explosive issue of encouraging the use of contraceptives by relief recipients in an attempt to reduce the number of illegitimate births was introduced by Chicago industrialist Arnold H. Maremont, the governor's appointee as Chairman of the Illinois Public Aid Commission. The net result was that Maremont's confirmation was rescinded (after legislators got huffy about some frank but politically unwise remarks he had made about them), a study commission was named, the policy was accepted that contraceptives were not to be provided for welfare recipients unless they were married and living with their spouses, welfare officials were given the option of removing children from mothers who are ADC recipients and have had more than one illegitimate child, and a new Department of Public Aid was created under the governor's direct control to replace the IPAC.

Mayor Daley's plea for tax aid for Chicago fell on deaf ears, and the session ended with a wrangle between the two houses on the date of adjournment that was forcibly settled by a gubernatorial proclamation.

How you evaluate these legislative performances depends on your vantage point. For Missouri Governor Dalton, "there are failures that I find somewhat dismaying but the accomplishments outweigh them." For St. Louis Mayor Tucker, "so many worthy proposals were left to die that I hope a special session will be called."

Chicago Mayor Daley says with resignation, "You can't win them all." The Missouri Chamber of Commerce says, "The business community has experienced a good year in the legislature." The *Kansas City Call*, a Negro newspaper, says, "Missouri Legislature Lets Us Down."

Our view? Some constructive legislation was passed, a great deal of time was frittered away, politically sensitive and vital issues were evaded without even the satisfaction of a roll call vote. Though fearful of federal domination, the legislators did little to face issues on a state level. The legislators have failed to meet their obligations.

P.S. In Missouri, Governor John M. Dalton is consulting with legislative leaders on the *advisability* of a special session. This appears to us as a politically astute way of avoiding actually calling such a session.

*Judith F. Burbank is on the staff of FOCUS Midwest. Previously she was with Time Magazine as an editorial researcher and more recently did graduate work in political science at Washington University. A Phi Beta Kappa, she is also a member of Pi Sigma Alpha, political science honor society.*

# Summary of Actions On Key State Votes

## KEY TO SYMBOLS

A—Adopted  
 C—Concurred in  
 P—Passed  
 Df—Defeated  
 T—Tabled  
 S—Signed  
 V—Vetoed  
 X—No Final Action  
 NP—Not Perfected  
 P\*—Different Bills Passed; No Agreement on Final Version  
 HB—House Bill  
 SB—Senate Bill  
 HJR—House Joint Resolution  
 SJR—Senate Joint Resolution  
 HCS—House Committee Substitute  
 SCS—Senate Committee Substitute  
 HCR—House Concurrent Resolution

## MISSOURI HOUSE

	House	Senate	Governor
<b>HCS for HJR 2 Gubernatorial vetoes</b>	P	X	
<b>HB 4 Civil Defense appropriation</b>	P	P	S
<b>HCR 4 Constitutional Amendment: reapportionment</b>	P		
<b>HCR 5 Constitutional Amendment: amendment procedure</b>	P		
<b>HCS for HJR 11 General Assembly sessions</b>	P	X	
<b>HJR 14 Gubernatorial term</b>	P	X	
<b>HB 21 Annexations</b>	P	P	S
<b>HJR 30 St. Louis city-county consolidation</b>	P	X	
<b>HB 33 Conflict of interest</b>	P*	P*	
<b>HJR 35 Terms of legislators</b>	P	X	
<b>HB 37 Seat belts</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 42 Maximum old age and disability pension</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 43 Maximum aid to blind</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 44 Maximum blind pension</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 45 Debt adjusting</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 50 Terms of Police Commissioners</b>	NP		
<b>HB 55 Non-partisan appointment of county judges</b>	NP		
<b>HB 65 Driving age</b>	Df		
<b>HB 82 Assessment of sentences and fines</b>	NP		
<b>HB 95 Sunday liquor sales</b>	Df		
<b>HB 128 Disclosure of arrest records</b>	NP		
<b>HB 129 Severance in rape &amp; sodomy cases</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 138 Reemployment of teachers</b>	Df		
<b>HB 144 Auto time sales</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 161 St. Louis police budget</b>	P	X	
<b>HB 162 St. Louis police fraternal organizations</b>	Df		
<b>HB 173 University of Missouri branches (St. Joseph and Joplin)</b>	P	P	V
<b>HB 210 Minimum wage</b>	Df		
<b>HB 213 Emergency phone calls</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 218 Missouri Commission on Higher Education</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 219 Merger of towns (less than 2000)</b>	Df		
<b>HB 259 Parents of deserted children</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 277 Counsel for indigent defendants</b>	P	X	
<b>HB 286 Driver's vision test</b>	Df		
<b>HB 302 Restriction on old age assistance</b>	P	X	
<b>HB 304 Blind pensions</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 327 Retirement of legislators</b>	P	X	
<b>HB 329 Symphony concerts</b>	Df		
<b>HB 364 Aid to mental hospitals</b>	P	X	
<b>HB 385 Child beating</b>	P	X	
<b>HB 470 Manpower Development and Training Act</b>	P	X	
<b>HB 490 State Tax Study Commission</b>	P	X	
<b>HB 501 Voting on bond issues</b>	NP		
<b>HB 507 Circuit court judges in St. Louis county</b>	P	X	

<b>HB 525 Kansas City earnings tax</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 557 Bail on defendant's pledge</b>	P	X	
<b>HB 560 Conflict of interest in zoning</b>	P	X	
<b>HB 567 Missouri State Council on the Arts</b>	P	X	
<b>HB 636 Equal pay for women</b>	P	P	S

<b>HB 467 Commission on Public Aid &amp; Assistance</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 575 Commission on Public Aid to provide welfare services</b>	P	T	
<b>HB 578 Collective bargaining</b>	P	T	
<b>HB 603 Seat belts</b>	P	T	
<b>HB 693 School bond elections</b>	P	P	V
<b>HB 739 Pledge of Allegiance</b>	P	P	V
<b>HB 755 Open occupancy</b>	Df		
<b>HB 800 Historic sites</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 818 Discrimination against students</b>	P	P	V
<b>HB 849 Discrimination in business schools</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 978 Reapportionment</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 1007 Teen-age curfew classification</b>	P	P	V
<b>HB 1072 Obscene for juveniles</b>	P	P	
<b>HB 1087 Savings and Loan Associations</b>	Df		
<b>HB 1171 Old Age Assistance</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 1207 Medical corporations</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 1366 Use of state cars</b>	Df		
<b>HB 1367 State purchase of cars</b>	P	Df	
<b>HB 1369 Legislators' pay</b>	P	P	V
<b>HB 1471 Dating milk</b>	Df		
<b>HB 1521 Municipal tax</b>	P	T	
<b>HB 1522 Municipal tax</b>	P	T	
<b>HB 1523 Municipal tax</b>	P	T	
<b>HB 1524 Municipal tax</b>	P	T	
<b>HB 1544 Manpower Training Act</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 1553 Governor's mansion</b>	P	T	
<b>HB 1561 Illegitimacy</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 1562 Illegitimacy</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 1578 Phenylketonuria detection</b>	P	P	S
<b>HB 1539 Legislators' pay</b>	P	T	

## MISSOURI SENATE

	Senate	House	Governor
<b>SJR 1 Constitutional amendment: poll tax</b>	P	P	
<b>SB 4 Sales tax increase</b>	P	P	S
<b>SJR 4 County charter</b>	P	X	
<b>SB 8 Truck height and length</b>	P	P	V
<b>SB 10 School elections</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 26 Non-partisan court plan</b>	P	X	
<b>SB 36 Purchasing from Missouri firms</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 49 Sunday sales</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 56 Psychiatric Intensive Treatment Centers</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 57 Funds for SB 56</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 68 Missouri income tax exemptions</b>	Df		
<b>SB 76 Drunken driving tests</b>	P	X	
<b>SB 78 Drunken driving: scale of offense</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 94 St. Louis voter identification</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 108 Incorporation for professionals</b>	P	P	S
<b>SCS for SB 109 License of foreign physicians</b>	P	P	S
<b>HCS for SB 140 Kerr-Mills: relief recipients</b>	P	P	S
<b>HCS for SB 141 Requirements of old age assistance</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 143 Mentally ill definition</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 148 Kerr-Mills: medically indigent</b>	P	P	V
<b>SB 151 Examination of aid recipients</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 198 Judges for St. Louis</b>	P*	P*	
<b>SB 231 State Reorganization Commission</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 296 Abolishes County Superintendent of Schools</b>	P	X	

## ILLINOIS SENATE

	Senate	House	Governor
<b>SJR 4 Constitutional Amendment</b>	A	C	
<b>SJR 5 Constitutional Amendment</b>	A	T	
<b>SB 10 Crime Commission</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 11 Illegitimate children</b>	P	X	
<b>SB 12 Illegitimate children</b>	P	X	
<b>SB 15 Seat belts</b>	P	P	S
<b>SR 22 Chicago Sanitary District</b>	A		
<b>SB 66 Contraceptive information</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 98 Sales tax</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 114 Public Defender</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 115 Public Defender</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 293 Department of Children &amp; Family Services</b>	P	P	V
<b>SB 295 Appropriation for SB 293</b>	P	P	V
<b>SB 308 Department of Mental Health</b>	P	T	
<b>SB 313 Commission on Children</b>	Pa	Pa	
<b>HB 346 Assistance payments</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 358 Relief eligibility</b>	P	T	
<b>SB 483 Sunday sales</b>	P	X	
<b>SB 511 Relief recipients earnings</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 550 Chicago mayoral election</b>	P	T	
<b>SB 613 Cook County Department of Public Aid</b>	P	T	
<b>SB 614 Strike by public employees</b>	P	X	
<b>SB 693 Swimming pool fences</b>	P	Df	
<b>SB 700 Cook County officials: salary</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 739 Liquor sales</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 747 Relief recipients</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 774 Chicago Sanitary District bond elections</b>	P	T	
<b>SB 782 Submerged land to US Steel</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 788 Housing authorities and urban conservation</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 1000 Illinois Public Aid Commission abolished; Department of Public Aid established</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 1039 Tapping of oral conversations</b>	P	P	V
<b>SB 1085 State educational TV system</b>	P	P	S
<b>SB 1127 Wire tapping</b>	Df		
<b>SB 1136 Council of Economic Advisers</b>	P	T	
<b>SB 1176 Commission on Capital Punishment</b>	P	P	V
<b>SB 1190 Prohibits teaching of race hate</b>	P	Df	
<b>SB 1200 Unions for state employees</b>	Df		
<b>SB 1228 Education for relief recipients</b>	P	P	S

# The Myth of Under-Representation

*A Congressional Quarterly study upsets the notion that urban areas are grossly under-represented — An ideal apportionment involves a net shift of only a few seats*

**A**n "ideal" apportionment — that is, the most even distribution of population — of the U.S. Congressional Districts would probably involve a net shift of only 16 seats out of the total of 435 seats. Urban areas (central cities over 50,000) would gain six additional Congressmen and the surrounding suburbs would pick up ten House seats.

The conclusions are based on a *Congressional Quarterly* study of the population characteristics of the nation's 435 Congressional Districts.

Even if the net national shift of 16 seats suggested by the CQ study as a means of accomplishing "ideal" representation was carried out, urban and suburban areas might complain that they were under-represented in Congress.

The reason is that the federal system, criss-crossing the nation with state lines that cannot be bridged in Congressional districting; the Constitution's guaranty of one seat to each state (however small); plus the mixed character of many population areas (especially the location of many urban centers in the midst of geographically large rural areas), make it impossible to give the population

DISTRICT INCUMBENT, PARTY	CENSUS 1960 POPULA- TION	VARIA- TION FROM STATE AVERAGE	PREDOM- INANT CHARAC- TERISTIC	DISTRICT LOCATION	POPULATION BREAKDOWN					
					URBAN		SUBURBAN		RURAL	
					TOTAL	%	TOTAL	%	TOTAL	%
<b>Illinois</b>										
1 Dawson (D)	397,324	- 5.4%	URBAN	Chicago-South Side	397,324	100%	NONE		NONE	
2 O'Hara (D)	365,525	- 13.0	URBAN	Chicago-South Side	365,525	100	NONE		NONE	
3 Murphy (D)	426,070	+ 1.4	URBAN	Chicago-Southwest	401,892	94.3	24,178	5.7%	NONE	
4 Derwinski (R)	516,624	+ 23.0	SUBURBAN	Southern Cook County	NONE		481,407	93.2	35,217	6.8%
5 Kluczynski (D)	351,023	- 16.4	URBAN	Chicago-Central, Southwest	326,900	93.1	24,123	6.9	NONE	
6 O'Brien (D)	278,703	- 33.6	URBAN	Chicago-West Side	271,422	97.4	7,281	2.6	NONE	
7 Libonati (D)	393,209	- 6.4	URBAN	Chicago-Loop District	393,209	100	NONE		NONE	
8 Rostenkowski (D)	483,537	+ 15.1	URBAN	Chicago-Central, West Side	483,537	100	NONE		NONE	
9 Finnegan (D)	428,202	+ 1.9	URBAN	Chicago-Northeast, Lakefront	428,202	100	NONE		NONE	
10 Collier (R)	552,582	+ 31.6	SUBURBAN	Western Cook County	NONE		551,166	99.7	1,416	0.3
11 Pucinski (D)	433,491	+ 3.2	URBAN	Chicago-North	402,858	92.9	30,633	7.1	NONE	
12 McClory (R)	398,192	- 5.2	MIXED-RS	Northeast, Chicago Suburbs	NONE		180,410	45.3	217,782	54.7
13 Rumsfeld (R)	503,435	+ 19.9	SUBURBAN	Northern Cook County	79,535	15.8	377,857	75.1	46,043	9.1
14 Hoffman (R)	505,076	+ 20.2	SUBURBAN	Joliet, Chicago Suburbs	66,780	13.2	302,613	59.9	135,683	26.8
15 Reid (R)	410,650	- 2.2	RURAL	North Central, Aurora	63,715	15.5	21,807	5.3	325,128	79.2
16 Anderson (R)	395,293	- 5.9	MIXED-RU	Northwest, Rockford	126,706	32.1	47,057	11.9	221,530	56.0
17 Arends (R)	387,204	- 7.8	RURAL	East Central (Danville 41,856)	NONE		NONE		387,204	100
18 Michel (R)	391,232	- 6.9	MIXED-RUS	North Central, Peoria	103,162	26.4	78,270	20.0	209,800	53.6
19 McLoskey (R)	350,515	- 16.6	RURAL	West Central, Rock Island, Moline	94,568	27.0	31,590	9.0	224,357	64.0
20 Findley (R)	445,443	+ 6.0	RURAL	West Central, Springfield	83,271	18.7	28,132	6.3	334,040	75.0
21 Gray (D)	363,196	- 13.5	RURAL	South (Mt. Vernon 15,566)	NONE		NONE		363,196	100
22 Springer (R)	373,881	- 11.0	MIXED-RU	Central, Decatur, Champaign Urbana	154,881	41.4	12,649	3.4	206,351	55.2
23 Shipley (D)	443,553	+ 5.6	RURAL	Southeast (Mattoon 19,088)	NONE		NONE		443,553	100
24 Price (D)	487,198	+ 16.0	SUBURBAN	Southwest, St. Louis Suburbs	NONE		276,295	56.7	210,903	43.3
State totals	10,081,158				4,243,487	42.1%	2,475,468	24.6%	3,362,203	33.3%
Average district	420,048									
Nine predominantly urban districts . . . . .							average population	395,232		
Five predominantly suburban districts . . . . .							average population	512,983		
Six predominantly rural districts . . . . .							average population	400,093		
Four mixed districts . . . . .							average population	389,650		

groups — urban, suburban, and rural — a number of seats corresponding to their national population totals.

At the present time, for instance, the urban population of the U.S. is 32.9 percent of the total, suburban 20.3 percent, and rural 46.8 percent. The actual Congressional seat breakdown is urban 103 seats (24 percent), suburban 50 (11 percent), rural 203 (46 percent), and mixed 79 (19 percent). Only the elimination of all state and district lines and the institution of a national system of proportional representation — a system opposed by virtually every U.S. political leader and political scientist — would make it possible to give each of the three population groups the same percentage of U.S. House seats as they represent in the total U.S. population — urban 32.9 percent (144 seats, up 41); suburban 20.3 percent (88 seats, up 33); rural 203 seats (no change); "mixed" category eliminated.

CQ chose instead to base its study on a survey of population patterns within each state and the possible changes in urban-suburban-rural representation in each that would occur if district populations were made as equal as possible with a reasonable balance between factors of homogeneity and compactness.

The gain in urban-suburban representation would be primarily at the expense of rural areas which would lose 12 House seats. Another four seats would be lost by "mixed" areas with no predominant population characteristic.

The CQ study, based on 1960 Census figures and the districts of the current 88th Congress, broke each district down into urban, suburban and rural population. Each district was then classified according to the predominant population group.

Congressional Seats in an 'Ideal' Apportionment						
	URBAN			SUBURBAN		
	Actual	Ideal	Change	Actual	Ideal	Change
East	36	36	0	26	29	+ 3
South	16	21	+5	2	4	+ 2
Midwest	32	32	0	12	15	+ 3
West	19	20	+1	10	12	+ 2
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	103	109	+6	50	60	+10
RURAL						
	RURAL			MIXED		
	Actual	Ideal	Change	Actual	Ideal	Change
East	32	32	0	28	25	-3
South	85	77	-8	16	17	+1
Midwest	61	57	-4	20	21	+1
West	25	25	0	15	12	-3
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	203	191	-12	79	75	-4

If no particular population category dominated the district, it was given a "mixed" classification.

Under this system it was found that the 88th Congress contains 103 "urban" seats, 50 "suburban" seats, 203 "rural" seats and 79 in the "mixed" category.

Following is a list of Midwestern states whose district population characteristics would be altered in making a hypothetical redistricting of U.S. House seats so as to approximate equal populations. The list does not include district changes which, even though justified by population disparities, would not alter the urban-suburban-rural complexion of the districts involved. It should be noted that the following hypothetical changes do not purport to be the only possible rectification of unequal representation among urban, suburban and rural areas. Taken together, however, they do indicate the extent of changes that would be required to achieve an equitable representation.

*Illinois.* One of the urban Chicago

districts should be eliminated with a new district created in the city's suburbs.

*Indiana.* One of the overrepresented rural districts should be eliminated with a new mixed district created in either the Northeastern Gary area or in the Indianapolis area.

*Michigan.* A recently passed redistricting law that will go into effect for the 1964 election eliminated one rural seat and added one suburban seat.

*Ohio.* One of the underpopulated rural districts in the southeast corner of the state (10th, 15th, 18th) should be eliminated with a new urban district created in the Cincinnati-Dayton area. The mixed at-large seat would be eliminated and a new district with a probable mixed classification created in either the Columbus or Akron areas.

*Wisconsin.* A recently passed Congressional redistricting bill to take effect with the 1964 elections eliminated one rural district and created a suburban district.

DISTRICT INCUMBENT, PARTY	CENSUS 1960 POPULA- TION	VARIA- TION FROM STATE AVERAGE	PREDOM- INANT CHARAC- TERISTIC	DISTRICT LOCATION	POPULATION BREAKDOWN					
					URBAN		SUBURBAN		RURAL	
					TOTAL	%	TOTAL	%	TOTAL	%
<b>Missouri</b>										
1 Karsten (D)	466,482	+ 8.0%	URBAN	St. Louis, North	269,804	57.8%	185,519	39.8%	11,159	2.4%
2 Curtis (R)	506,854	+17.3	SUBURBAN	Suburban St. Louis	NONE		455,853	89.9	51,001	10.1
3 Sullivan (D)	480,222	+11.2	URBAN	St. Louis, Center	480,222	100	NONE		NONE	
4 Randall (D)	418,981	- 3.0	MIXED-RS	Kansas City and Suburbs	73,108	17.4	128,875	30.8	216,998	51.8
5 Bolling (D)	378,499	- 12.4	URBAN	Kansas City	367,263	97.0	7,488	2.0	3,748	1.0
6 Hull (D)	388,486	- 10.1	RURAL	Northwest, St. Joseph, Kansas City	114,841	29.6	37,447	9.6	236,198	60.8
7 Hall (R)	436,933	+ 1.1	RURAL	Southwest, Springfield	95,865	21.9	1,359	0.3	339,709	77.7
8 Ichord (D)	452,385	+ 4.7	RURAL	Central (Columbia 36,650)	NONE		NONE		452,385	100
9 Cannon (D)	409,369	- 5.2	RURAL	Northeast (St. Charles 21,189)	NONE		NONE		409,369	100
10 Jones (D)	381,602	- 11.7	RURAL	Southeast (Cape Girardeau 24,947)	NONE		NONE		381,602	100
State totals	4,319,813				1,401,103	32.4%	816,541	18.9%	2,102,169	48.7%
Average district	431,981									
Three predominantly urban districts . . . . .					average population		441,734			
One predominantly suburban district . . . . .					population		506,854			
Five predominantly rural districts . . . . .					average population		413,755			
One mixed district . . . . .					population		418,981			

# In Missouri: 3,936 = 53,015

Representative H. F. "Hoot" Holland represents 3,936 residents in the General Assembly of Missouri. Representative J. Luther Robinson represents 53,015 residents. Rep. Holland, whose vote counts roughly 13 times as much as Robinson's, hails from Worth County; Rep. Robinson, from the 13th District of Jackson County.

Four residents from the Kansas City area have recently filed a voters' complaint asking the United States District Court for the Western District to re-apportion the legislative and senatorial districts of Missouri on a more equal basis. They claim that the present apportionment is unconstitutional and discriminatory:

"Citizens . . . possess an inherent right to vote for members of the General Assembly of the State and to cast votes that are equally effective with the votes of every other citizen of said State; but . . . by virtue of the invidious discrimination inherent in . . . the Constitution of the State of Missouri, and by virtue of the invidious discrimination practiced by the General Assembly in the re-apportionment statutes . . . the votes of the plaintiffs are not as effective as the votes of the voters residing in other Senatorial and Legislative Districts of the State."

The plaintiffs add that the rapid population growth in their area will place them at an even greater disadvantage in the future.

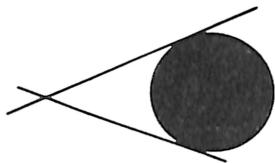
In support of their complaint, they presented the following breakdown of senatorial and legislative representation.

Rank	District	Counties in District	Population	% of Ideal Dist. (127,053)
1	29th	Christian, Webster, Wright, Texas, Douglas, Ozark, Howell	96,477	75.50%
2	12th	Atchison, Holt, Nodaway, Andrew, Worth, Harrison, Mercer, Grundy, Putnam, Sullivan	99,666	78.45%
3	33rd	Benton, Cooper, Camden, Miller, Moniteau, Morgan, Hickory, St. Clair, Maries, Polk	101,049	79.53%
4	28th	Newton, McDonald, Lawrence, Barry, Stone, Taney	102,486	80.66%
5	23rd	Wayne, Carter, Oregon, Ripley, Butler, Dunklin	105,347	82.91%
6	34th	Buchanan, DeKalb, Gentry	106,600	83.90%
7	32nd	Barton, Cedar, Dade, Jasper	106,738	84.01%
8	31st	Cass, Bates, Vernon, Johnson, Henry	114,354	90.00%
9	25th	Madison, Bollinger, Stoddard, New Madrid, Pemiscot	117,468	90.09%
10	18th	Schuylerville, Scotland, Clark, Adair, Knox, Lewis	121,044	95.27%
11	21st	Macon, Shelby, Marion, Ralls	122,187	96.17%
12	27th	Audrain, Pike, Callaway, Cole, Lincoln, Ste. Genevieve, Perry, Cape Girardeau, Scott, Mississippi	122,221	96.19%
13	17th	Platte, Clinton, Clay	122,312	96.27%
14	3rd	Part of St. Louis City	124,122	97.69%
15	2nd	Part of St. Louis City	124,816	92.23%
16	1st	Part of St. Louis City	124,929	98.32%
17	5th	Part of St. Louis City	125,020	98.39%
18	6th	Part of St. Louis City	125,339	98.41%
19	4th	Part of St. Louis City	125,801	99.01%
20	30th	Greene	126,276	99.38%
21	26th	Dallas, Laclede, Pulaski, Phelps, Crawford, Washington	127,261	100.16%
22	19th	Linn, Chariton, Randolph, Monroe, Howard, Boone	128,298	100.97%
23	22nd	Jefferson, St. Francois, Iron, Dent, Reynolds, Shannon	133,627	105.42%
24	24th	Part of St. Louis County	138,645	109.12%
25	14th	Part of St. Louis County	139,866	110.08%
26	13th	Part of St. Louis County	140,031	110.21%
27	20th	St. Charles, Warren, Montgomery, Franklin, Gasconade, Osage	140,445	110.56%
28	7th	Part of St. Louis County	142,127	111.86%
29	15th	Part of St. Louis County	142,769	112.36%
30	16th	Daviess, Caldwell, Ray, Livingston, Carroll, Lafayette, Saline, Pettis	149,567	117.64%
31	8th	Part of Jackson County	152,146	119.74%
32	11th	Part of Jackson County	154,870	121.81%
33	10th	Part of Jackson County	155,428	122.33%
34	9th	Part of Jackson County	160,288	126.16%

House of Representatives			10	Putnam	6,999	26.41
Rank	County	Pop. (26,501)	11	Shannon	7,087	26.74
			12	DeKalb	7,226	27.27
			13	Maries	7,282	27.48
			14	Dade	7,577	28.50
			15	Holt	7,885	29.77
			16	Iron	8,041	30.34
			17	Ralls	8,078	30.48
			18	Stone	8,176	30.85
			19	St. Clair	8,421	31.78
			20	Wayne	8,638	32.59
			21	Clark	8,725	32.92
			22	Benton	8,737	32.97
			23	Warren	8,750	33.02

24	Sullivan	8,783	33.14
25	Gentry	8,793	33.18
26	Caldwell	8,830	33.32
27	Shelby	9,063	34.20
28	Ripley	9,096	34.32
29	Camden	9,116	34.40
30	Bollinger	9,167	34.59
31	Cedar	9,185	34.66
32	Atchison	9,213	34.76
33	Dallas	9,314	35.14
34	Madison	9,366	35.34
35	Morgan	9,476	35.76
36	Daviess	9,502	35.85
37	Douglas	9,653	36.42
38	Oregon	9,845	37.15
39	Taney	10,238	38.63
40	Dent	10,445	39.41
41	Moniteau	10,500	39.62
42	Monroe	10,688	40.33
43	Howard	10,859	40.98
44	Osage	10,867	41.01
45	Lewis	10,984	41.45
46	Andrew	11,062	41.74
47	Montgomery	11,097	41.87
48	Barton	11,113	41.93
49	Clinton	11,588	43.73
50	Harrison	11,603	43.78
51	McDonald	11,798	44.52
52	Ste. Genevieve	12,116	45.72
53	Gasconade	12,195	46.02
54	Grundy	12,220	46.11
55	Christian	12,359	46.54
56	Crawford	12,347	47.12
57	Chariton	12,720	48.00
58	Webster	13,753	51.90
59	Polk	13,753	51.90
60	Miller	13,800	52.07
61	Carroll	13,847	52.25
62	Wright	14,183	53.52
63	Washington	14,346	54.13
64	Perry	14,783	55.78
65	Lincoln	14,783	55.78
66	Cooper	15,448	58.29
67	Livingston	15,771	59.51
68	Bates	15,205	60.02
69	Ray	16,075	60.66
70	Macon	16,473	62.16
71	Pike	16,706	63.04
72	Linn	16,315	63.45
73	Texas	17,758	67.01
74	Barry	18,921	71.40
75	Laclede	18,991	71.66
76	Henry	19,226	72.55
77	Adair	20,105	75.86
78	Vernon	20,540	77.51
79	Mississippi	20,695	79.11
80	Randolph	22,014	83.07
81	Howell	22,027	83.12
82	Nodaway	22,215	83.33
83	Lawrence	23,260	87.77
84	Platte	23,350	83.11
85	Callaway	23,858	90.03
86	Saline	25,148	94.89
87	Lafayette	25,274	95.37
88	Phelps	25,396	95.33
89	Audrain	26,079	93.41
90	Boone	27,601*	104.15
91	Clay	28,158*	106.25
92	Johnson	28,981	109.36
93	Stoddard	29,490	111.28
94	Marion	29,522	111.40
95	Cass	29,702	112.08
96	Newton	30,093	113.55
97	Buchanan	30,194*	113.93
98	New Madrid	31,350	118.30
99	Scott	32,748	123.57
100	Jefferson	33,189*	125.23
101	Butler	34,656	130.77
102	Pettis	35,120	132.52
103	St. Francois	36,516	137.79
104	Pemiscot	38,095	143.75
105	Dunklin	39,139	147.89
106	Jasper	39,432*	148.79
107	Cole	40,761	153.81
108	Cape Girardeau	42,020	158.56
109	Greene	42,092*	158.83
110	Franklin	44,566	168.17
111	Pulaski	46,567	175.72
112	Jackson	47,902*	**180.76
113	St. Louis City	50,002*	**188.58
114	St. Louis Co.	50,252*	**189.62
115	St. Charles	52,970	199.88

Legislative Districts in Jackson County			% of Ideal Dist. (26,501)
Dist. No.	Population	(26,501)	
1	48,623	183.48	
2	49,151	185.47	
3	43,908	165.68	
4	46,429	175.20	
5	45,876	173.11	
6	47,428	178.97	
7	48,220	181.96	
8	46,236	174.47	
9	48,551	183.20	
10	50,993	192.42	
11	49,005	184.92	
12	45,275	170.84	
13	53,015	200.09	



## VOTING RECORDS

### KEY TO SYMBOLS

Y—Voting for the Bill  
 N—Voting against the Bill  
 A—Absent  
 AY—Announced for the Bill  
 PY—Paired for the Bill  
 HR—House of Representatives Bill  
 S—U.S. Senate Bill  
 HB—House Bill (State)  
 SB—Senate Bill (State)  
 SJ Res.—Senate Joint Resolution (Congress)

(Note: Votes with up to eight "nays" are not recorded in the table. However, the "nays" are named in the description of the bill following the vote totals.)

### Congress

#### U. S. SENATE VOTES

**HR 6016.** Dirksen (R Ill.) Motion to recommit the bill, which contained projects in 10 Southern states, 9 Middle Western states, 6 Western and 3 Eastern states (authorizes \$609,547,000 for increased river basin authorizations and for certain flood control and power projects). Rejected 25-64: R 22-10; D 3-54 (ND 1-36; SD 2-18), July 30, 1963. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**HR 5888.** Clark (D Pa.) amendment to increase funds for Manpower Development and Training Act programs from \$110 million to the House figure, \$140 million. Rejected 29-54; R 4-26; D 25-28 (ND 23-12; SD 2-16), Aug. 7, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**S 1321.** National Services Corps Act, authorizing a program of volunteer public service. Passage of the bill, authorizing \$15 million for two years. Passed 47-44; R 3-28; D 44-16 (ND 38-2; SD 6-14), Aug. 14, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**S 1703.** Extend through December 1964 the existing program for recruiting Mexican labor for seasonal work on U.S. farms. Passage of the bill. Passed 62-25: R 21-8; D 41-17 (ND 26-14; SD 15-3), Aug. 15, 1963. The President did not take a position on the bill.

**SJ Res 102** Establish a seven-member tripartite arbitration board to resolve the railroad work-rules dispute between carriers and five on-train operators' unions. Passage of the joint resolution setting up a seven-member arbitration board to resolve the two primary work rules issues and enjoining unions from striking over secondary issues during the 180-day life of the resolution. Passed 90-2; R 29-1; D 61-1 (ND 40-1; SD 21-0), Aug. 27, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**S 1831.** Passage of the bill expanding Manpower Development and Training Act programs to provide a new literacy training program and to expand the youth training program, and authorizing \$100 million for the new purposes in both fiscal 1964 and fiscal 1965. Passed 41-26: R 9-10; D 32-16

(ND 28-1; SD 4-15), Sept. 6, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**HR 12.** Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1963. Passage of the bill, authorizing a three-year program of matching grants for construction and rehabilitation of teaching facilities for medical, dental and related professional schools, and providing a six-year loan program for students of medicine, dentistry and osteopathy. Passed 71-9: R 22-4; D 49-5 (ND 35-0; SD 14-5), Sept. 12, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**(A) Limited Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty.** Goldwater (R Ariz.) reservation to make U.S. ratification contingent upon a complete and UN inspected withdrawal of Soviet nuclear weapons and military and technical personnel from Cuba. Rejected 17-75: R 10-21; D 7-54 (ND 0-40; SD 7-14), Sept. 23, 1963. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**(B) Limited Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty.** Approval of the resolution of ratification. Treaty ratified 80-19: R 25-8; D 55-11 (ND 41-2; SD 14-9), Sept. 24, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**HR 7179.** Department of Defense appropriation bill for fiscal 1964. Passage of the bill, appropriating \$47,339,707,000 in fiscal 1964. Passed 77-0: R 29-0; D 48-0, Sept. 24, 1963.

#### U. S. HOUSE VOTES

**HR 4897** Repeal the geographic limitation on the operation of the Sedition Act of 1917. Lindsay (R N.Y.) motion to recommit (kill) the bill. Rejected 40-338: R 8-160; D 32-178 (ND 32-95; SD 0-83), July 16, 1963. The President did not take a position on the bill.

**HR 6518** The Clean Air Act, to initiate and strengthen programs for the prevention and abatement of air pollution. Passed 272-102: R 66-92; D 206-10 (ND 125-2; SD 81-8), July 24, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**HR 4955** Passage of the bill authorizing new matching grants to the states for expansion of state vocational education programs and making revisions in the programs designed to more effectively meet current problems. Passed 377-21: R 152-9; D 225-12 (ND 142-0; SD 83-12), Aug. 6, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**HR 6143** Provides a five-year program of federal grants and loans for construction or improvement of higher education academic facilities and authorizes \$1,195,000,000 for three years. Passed 287-113: R 107-56 D 180-57 (ND 140-3; SD 40-54), Aug. 14, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**HR 7885** Foreign Assistance Act of 1963. Amend foreign aid law and authorize appropriations of \$4,087,075,000 for foreign aid in fiscal 1964. Adair (R Ind.) motion to recommit the bill to the Foreign Affairs Committee with instructions to make cuts. Agreed 222-180: R 156-16; D 66-172 (ND 7-136; SD 59-36), Aug. 23, 1963. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**HR 7885** Authorize appropriations of \$3,502,075,000 for foreign aid in fiscal 1964. Passage of the bill. Passed 224-186: R 52-120; D 172-66 (ND 135-8; SD 37-58), Aug. 23, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**S 1576** The Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act of 1963, authorizing a three-year program of \$238 million in grants to states and public and private institutions to combat mental illness and retardation. Passed 335-18: R 133-7; D 202-11 (ND 130-0; SD 72-11), Sept. 10, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**HR 8363** Passage of the bill, lowering personal and corporate income taxes and making other changes in the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. Passed 271-155: R 48-126;

D 233-29 (ND 145-3; SD 78-26), Sept. 25, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

	HR 4897	HR 6518	HR 4955	HR 6143	HR 7885	HR 7885	S 1576	HR 8363
21	Gray	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
24	Price	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23	Shipley	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16	Anderson	N	Y	N	Y	Y	A	N
17	Arends	N	A	Y	Y	Y	A	N
20	Findley	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
14	Hoffman	A	N	Y	PN	Y	N	N
12	McClory	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
19	McLoskey	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
18	Michel	N	A	Y	N	Y	N	N
21	Reid	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
22	Springer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N

### CHICAGO

1	Dawson	A	A	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9	Finnegan	A	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5	Cluczynski	N	A	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7	Libonati	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3	Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6	O'Brien	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
2	O'Hara	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11	Pucinski	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8	Rostenkowski	A	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10	Collier	N	N	Y	PN	Y	N	A
4	Derwinski	N	N	A	Y	Y	N	A
13	Rumsfeld	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N

### MISSOURI

5	Bolling	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9	Cannon	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6	Hull	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8	Ichord	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10	Jones	N	Y	A	N	Y	N	A
7	Karsten	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4	Randall	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3	Sullivan	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2	Curtis	Y	N	Y	A	Y	N	Y
7	Hall	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N

### States

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The following voting record winds up our presentation of votes on key issues which came before the General Assemblies of Illinois and Missouri.)

#### ILLINOIS SENATE VOTES

**SB 66** Creates a commission on birth control. Passed 111-28. (June 28, 1963)

**SB 739** Provides that no person shall sell, give or deliver alcoholic liquor to another person under the age of 21. Passed 158-0. (June 28, 1963)

**SB 358** Provides that people who are out of work due to labor disputes are ineligible for relief and ADC payments. Tabled, unanimous consent. (June 28, 1963)

**SB 1136** Abolishes Council of Economic Advisers. Provides for a 15-member board to be appointed by the Governor with the consent of the Senate. Tabled, unanimous consent. (June 28, 1963)

**SB 1190** Provides for the supervision of private denominational and parochial schools by the superintendent of public instruction to prohibit the teaching of racial hatred and superiority. Defeated 85-38. (June 28, 1963)

	SB 66	SB 1190
Alsup (D)		Y
Anderson, M. K. (R)		Y
Anderson, R. E. (R)		A
Armstrong (D)		A
Austin (R)		Y
Bairstow (D)		A
Baker (D)		A
Baltz (R)		A
Barry (D)		Y
Bartoline (D)		A
Blades (R)		A
Branson (R)		Y
Brouillet (R)		A
Brydia (R)		Y
Burgoon (R)		N
Burhans (R)		Y
Callan (D)		A
Campbell (R)		P
Capuzi (R)		Y

	HR 6016	HR 5888	S 1321	HR 1703	S 102	SJ Res 1831	S 121	HR 12	HR 7179	(A)	(B)	HR 7885
Dirksen (R. Ill.)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	PN	PY	N	Y	Y		
Douglass (D. Ill.)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	AY	Y	N	Y	Y		
Long (D. Mo.)	N	AY	PY	A	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	AY		
Symington (D. Mo.)	N	N	Y	N	Y	AY	Y	N	Y	AY		

	SB 66	SB 1190
Carrigan (D)	Y	Rhodes (R)
Carroll (R)	Y	Rink (D)
Carter (D)	Y	Robinson (R)
Ceaser (D)	Y	Romano (D)
Choate (D)	Y	Ropa (D)
Clabaugh (R)	Y	Rosander (R)
Clarke (R)	N	Rowe (R)
Conner (D)	A	Ruddy (R)
Connelly (R)	Y	Russell (D)
Costello (D)	Y	Ryan (D)
Course (D)	Y	Saal (D)
Coutrakon (R)	Y	Sandquist (R)
Craig (D)	Y	Saperstein (D)
Dale (R)	A	Scariano (D)
Dammerman (D)	Y	Schaefer (D)
Davidson (R)	A	Schneider (R)
Davis (D)	Y	Schoeberlein (R)
Dawson (R)	Y	Scott (D)
DeMichaels (D)	Y	Shaw (D)
DiPrima (D)	N	Simmons (R)
Dolezal (R)	A	Smith, Frank J. (D)
Donnewald (D)	N	Smith, Ralph T. (R)
Donovan (R)	Y	Soderstrom (R)
Downes (D)	Y	Stastny (R)
Downey (D)	A	Stolle (R)
Elward (D)	Y	Stremlau (D)
Erlenborn (R)	Y	Svalina (D)
Euzzino (D)	Y	Teeffey (D)
Fary (D)	Y	Touhy (D)
Finfgeld (R)	N	Traynor (D)
Fitzgerrell (R)	N	Vitek (D)
Gardner (R)	N	Walker, C. A. (R)
Glenn (D)	A	Walker, Jack (R)
Graham (R)	Y	Wall (R)
Granata (R)	A	Walsh, R. A. (R)
Hachmeister (R)	N	Walsh, R. V. (D)
Hale (R)	Y	Walsh, W. D. (R)
Hall (R)	A	Warren (R)
Hannigan (D)	Y	Welsh, R. J. (D)
Hansen (R)	A	Whalen (D)
Harris (D)	Y	Wiktor斯基 (D)
Heiple (R)	N	Willett (R)
Hill (D)	Y	Williams (R)
Hittmeier (R)	N	Wilson (D)
Holloway (D)	Y	Wittmond (D)
Holten (D)	P	Wolbank (D)
Horsley (R)	Y	Wolf (D)
Hunsicker (R)	N	Wood (R)
Ihnen (R)	Y	Zagone (D)
Janezak (R)	N	Zlatnik (R)
Johns (R)	Y	Mr. Speaker (R)
Johnston (R)	A	
Jones (R)	N	
Kahoun (R)	Y	
Kaplan (D)	Y	
Kennedy (D)	A	
Laufer (R)	Y	
Lee, Clyde (D)	Y	
Lee, Noble W. (R)	Y	
Lehman (R)	A	
Lenard (D)	Y	
Leon (D)	Y	
LoDestro (R)	A	
Loughran (D)	Y	
Loukas, J. P. (D)	A	
Lucas, Allen (D)	Y	
Lyman (D)	Y	
Majewski (D)	Y	
Mann (D)	N	
Marek (R)	A	
Marks (D)	N	
McAvoy (R)	Y	
McBroom (R)	A	
McConnell (R)	N	
McCormick (R)	A	
McCully (R)	Y	
McDermott (D)	Y	
McDevitt (R)	Y	
McGowan (R)	Y	
McPartlin (D)	Y	
Merlo (D)	Y	
Mikva (D)	A	
Miller, C. O. (R)	N	
Miller, K. W. (R)	Y	
Miller, P. J. (R)	Y	
Mills (D)	Y	
Moberly (R)	Y	
Moore (R)	A	
Morgan (R)	Y	
Morris (D)	Y	
Murphy (R)	A	
Napolitano (D)	Y	
Neff (R)	N	
Parkhurst (R)	A	
Partee (D)	Y	
Pearson (D)	Y	
Peskin (D)	A	
Pfeffer (D)	N	
Pierce (D)	N	
Piotrowski (D)	Y	
Pollack (R)	Y	
Powell (D)	Y	
Railsback (R)	Y	
Randolph (R)	N	
Ratcliffe (D)	Y	
Redmond (D)	N	

Rhodes (R)	.....	A	Y
Rink (D)	.....	Y	Y
Robinson (R)	.....	Y	Y
Romano (D)	.....	Y	Y
Ropa (D)	.....	Y	Y
Rosander (R)	.....	Y	Y
Rowe (R)	.....	N	Y
Ruddy (R)	.....	Y	Y
Russell (D)	.....	Y	Y
Ryan (D)	.....	Y	Y
Saal (D)	.....	Y	Y
Sandquist (R)	.....	Y	Y
Saperstein (D)	.....	Y	Y
Scariano (D)	.....	N	Y
Schaefer (D)	.....	Y	Y
Schneider (R)	.....	Y	Y
Schoeberlein (R)	.....	Y	Y
Scott (D)	.....	Y	Y
Shaw (D)	.....	N	Y
Simmons (R)	.....	Y	Y
Smith, Frank J. (D)	.....	Y	Y
Smith, Ralph T. (R)	.....	Y	Y
Soderstrom (R)	.....	Y	Y
Stastny (R)	.....	Y	Y
Stolle (R)	.....	A	Y
Stremlau (D)	.....	A	Y
Svalina (D)	.....	Y	Y
Teeffey (D)	.....	A	Y
Touhy (D)	.....	A	Y
Traynor (D)	.....	Y	Y
Vitek (D)	.....	Y	Y
Walker, C. A. (R)	.....	A	Y
Walker, Jack (R)	.....	A	Y
Wall (R)	.....	Y	Y
Walsh, R. A. (R)	.....	Y	Y
Walsh, R. V. (D)	.....	Y	Y
Walsh, W. D. (R)	.....	N	Y
Warren (R)	.....	A	Y
Welsh, R. J. (D)	.....	Y	Y
Whalen (D)	.....	A	Y
Wiktor斯基 (D)	.....	A	Y
Willett (R)	.....	A	Y
Williams (R)	.....	A	Y
Wilson (D)	.....	Y	Y
Wittmond (D)	.....	Y	Y
Wolbank (D)	.....	Y	Y
Wolf (D)	.....	Y	Y
Wood (R)	.....	A	Y
Zagone (D)	.....	Y	Y
Zlatnik (R)	.....	Y	Y
Mr. Speaker (R)	.....	Y	Y

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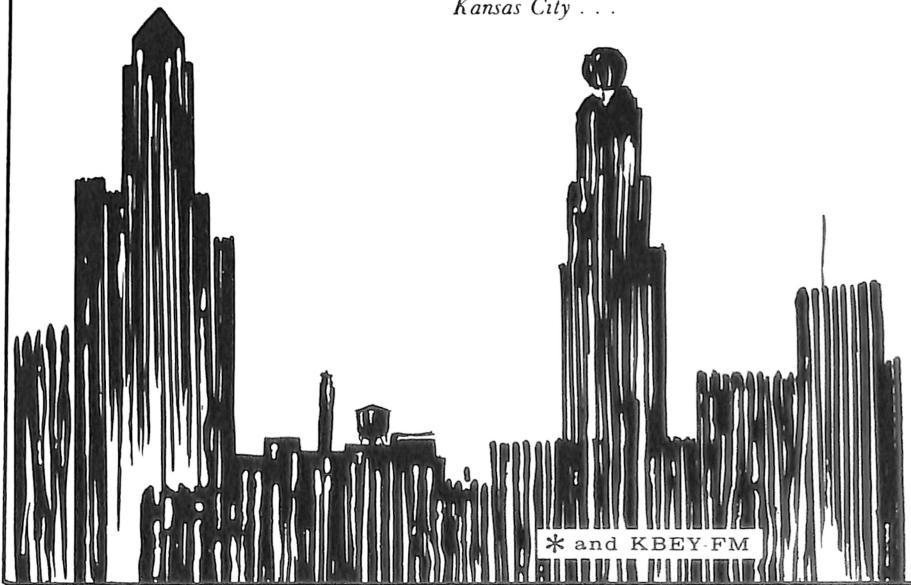
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# Religious Discrimination

EARLY last year Robert F. Wagner, the Mayor of New York, announced that he was resigning from the New York Athletic Club because of its discriminatory membership policy.

This followed closely the resignation of several leading members from the Cosmos Club, citadel of Washington's intellectual life, because it had refused admission to Carl T. Rowan, a distinguished journalist and now ambassador to Finland who happened to be a Negro.

In the fall of 1961, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy resigned from Washington's Metropolitan Club, probably the most distinguished social club in the city, because of the club's discriminatory policy.

Several United States Senators and members resigned from the world-famous West Side Tennis Club of Forest Hills, New York, when Dr. Ralph Bunche was told that neither he nor his son could join because they were Negroes.

Racial and religious discrimination evident in these instances and many others is probably the one area least under attack by civil rights. Here, it is felt, the privilege of private association allows for exclusive and restricted covenants.

While private associations should be safe from governmental interference, they should not be permitted to escape exposure.

Not too long ago the Anti-Defamation League undertook a state-by-state survey of 1,288 private clubs. Information was received on 1152 clubs which presented these findings:

(1) 781 clubs (or 67 per cent) practiced religious discrimination either by refusing or restricting membership.

(2) Of the 781 discriminatory clubs, 691 were "Christian clubs" and 90 were "Jewish clubs."

(3) Of the 691 "Christian clubs," 555 (or about 80 per cent) barred Jews completely. Of the 90 "Jewish clubs," 85 (or about 95 per cent) barred Christian members completely.

(4) Of the 781 discriminatory clubs, 696 (or 90 per cent) maintained restrictions unofficially — that is, without religious proscriptions in their constitutions or by-laws.

(5) 693 of the clubs studied were of primary importance in their respective communities. Of these top clubs, 467 (or 67 per cent) practiced religious discrimination; 429 (more than 90 per cent) discriminated against Jews.

The ADL study points out "that this type of anti-Semitism is far more pervasive than that which operates in higher education, employment, housing, or public accommodations."

CLUBS which erect racial and religious barriers have traditionally taken the position that they are exercising the right of the private citizen to freedom of association. They envision the club as an extension of the individual's private life, similar to his home where he is free to invite and exclude those whom he pleases. A typical statement appeared in the *Dallas Morning News*: "If a group of people can't get together in this country and set up a private club with their own money and prescribe any membership rules they want to, then there is no freedom left in the field of social association."

*Sports Illustrated* defended the

right of the private club in these terms: "Any responsible concern for civil liberties should, we think, grant to a private club an inalienable right to the privacy for which it was organized and a corresponding freedom to choose the companions of that privacy whether the choice be good or not. It is not for any man to say whom his neighbor should invite to dinner."

But is privacy the only issue?

An editorial in the *New York Times* emphasized the dual nature of the private club: "In its private capacity the club (West Side Tennis Club) may choose, as it has done, to deny membership to the son of Ralph Bunche or, in general, to deny membership to any Negro or any person of the Jewish religion. In its public capacity, as an institution with some diplomatic functions, the club has no right to make these discriminations . . . There are a number of extravagances we cannot afford in our present struggle to keep western civilization alive and thriving. One of these extravagances is that stupid and cowardly thing, racial and religious prejudice."

Or, as The Reverend George French Kempsell, Jr. of the Church of St. James the Less, Scarsdale, New York, phrased it when a young Jewish convert was barred from a Christmas Ball organized by the Scarsdale Golf Club, "What we are saying is that if our Lord Jesus Christ had come back to earth in Scarsdale . . . He would not have been allowed to escort a young lady of this Parish to that dance."

Whether a club has a distinctive diplomatic function, on which the *New York Times* based its criticism, or whether it has some other community function, it usually means that the excluded groups are partial-

# in Social Clubs



ly or completely cut off from the hub of civic and political life and decision making in the community. Sociologists tell us that a man's rank in the class system of the community depends upon the informal groups and the clubs to which he belongs. The exclusive clubs and groups thus serve as barriers . . . barriers not only against the Jew or Negro, but against their own members. It is well to realize that barriers shut in as well as keep out, and that restrictions inevitably place restraints on both parties.

Vance Packard, in the course of analyzing post-war social attitudes in a representative American community, observed that: "60 per cent of my Gentile informants of Northeast City were at heart persons of good will. It was the older informants who were inclined to be least interested in reducing the business and social barriers against Jews. The 60 per cent who might reasonably be classified as persons of good will seemed uneasy

about their local situation, and expressed a wish that it be different." It was Packard's conclusion that "barriers that persist today persist more out of habit than hostility."

Even if innocent of bias himself, a particular member becomes a party to this mentality by virtue of the rules of the club. To maintain his own loyalty to the club, he must suppress his personal experience of human nature and his most thoughtful and humane attitudes both of which dictate that each man should be judged on his own merits. The member must try to convince himself that all Jews are socially undesirable for one reason and all Negroes for another, or else that only a small quota of them can safely be admitted. Practically speaking, he will also find that a small group of bigots, by controlling the list of candidates for membership or by the use of the blackball, can curtail his own freedom of association within the club by preventing him from bringing in

friends or clients, perhaps even for lunch or a round of golf.

Often enough, the social barriers that the Jew encounters lead him to join "Jewish clubs" that are as determinedly discriminatory as the Christian ones. Thus, the Anti-Defamation League study has found that almost 12 per cent of all the discriminatory clubs were "Jewish" ones. It is also perhaps significant that in the North Atlantic region which had the highest regional percentage of discriminatory clubs, the "Jewish clubs" made up 19 per cent of the total.

Citizens who either practice or acquiesce in the more polite forms of discrimination are the ones who promulgate negative stereotypes of minorities. Precisely because the decorous discrimination of the local county club is associated with respectability, it becomes that much more a cloak for the unjust, immoral, and potentially dangerous attitudes that it fosters and justifies in the community.

	Country Clubs Studied	City Clubs Studied	Total Clubs Studied	Total Membership	Discriminatory Clubs	Restrictions		Quota of or No Jews in Christian Clubs		Quota of or No Christians in Jewish Clubs	
						Official	Unofficial	1	1	57	10
Idaho	1	1	2	700	1						
Illinois	62	23	85	53,500	67	2	65	57	10		
Indiana	19	8	27	17,850	15	12	3	12	3		
Iowa	8	3	11	4,550	6			6	6		
Kansas	9	6	15	11,500	6	1	5	5	1		
Michigan	33	12	45	33,030	36			36	34	2	
Minnesota	16	5	21	19,530	18			18	16	2	
Missouri	19	7	26	15,400	18			18	15	3	
Montana	2	1	3	2,100	2			2	2		
Nebraska	4	5	9	4,000	6	2	4	5	1		
North Dakota		1	1	350							
Ohio	50	21	71	37,850	61	8	53	56	5		
South Dakota	1	2	3	1,000	1			1	1		
Wisconsin	20	6	26	9,350	16			16	15	1	
TOTALS	244	101	345	210,710	253	25	228	225	28		

# CONRAD KNICKERBOCKER

---

Last night, I went into the room where you slept  
And sat awhile and touched your hair  
And waited for a wild moment of night  
To shake the windows. It is like this often;  
Outside, the sky moves far; the bombers  
Move high, white and cold; leaves rush  
In the street and somewhere a dog, whining,  
Has been shut out.

I've no complaint, all these  
Are part of night, but what is it here, then,  
Not night, not day, where your rumpled face  
Lies buried and soft beneath its dream  
And the scratching on the window pane is  
Not a wolf, but the darkest rose  
Waiting to grow again next spring?

*Conrad Knickerbocker*

Birds fall in snow,  
Hands beg, carver's hands  
Heft the white wood, sheep  
Pray, snow battens the chemisa.  
In canyons lobos rush abroad,  
Triggers rust tight. Juan Ramon,  
Carve me a hand, teach me to beg,  
Make me an image. Gravé me an image  
Beyond the crosses tilted on snow  
Black as the hanged bats.  
Santa Carmen Pobrecita, patroness  
Of the poor, carved from cottonwood  
By Juan Ramon Velasquez, santero,  
During the black winter of 86  
To buy shelter for his animals —  
I, stranger, pasajero,  
Paid dollars for her to remind me:  
Give money,  
Empty your veins,  
Let snow conceal the final blood.

Back in the woods I started one before  
I saw him. What he caught of me — besides  
The white through dwindling green that was my shirt  
Descending on him (like no flower, because  
Too huge, too free, unnaturally white)—  
I can't be sure. But what I saw was brown  
Where there had been no brown, then nothing again,  
And over my shoulder one low limb that shook  
A long accusing finger at my back.

But this one in the road let me have time.  
He held still while I stooped to see him close,  
And let me probe the secret of his tail  
With a timothy stalk. And still held still,  
While onward up his back through parting fur  
I laid the pale skin bare. And even when  
With a boldness half despair I touched his eye,  
He held still as a bone and let me look.  
Perfect beyond my asking, one would think  
He fell in the course of seasons from some tree,  
Fruit of my walk and apple of my eye.  
I turned him with my foot. From where he lay,  
With four small hands he reached to call me down.

Human with shame, I took him by the tail;  
Across the roadside wall the leaves lay thick  
And seemed, more than the road, appropriate  
For death so silent and so animal.  
My mind was all abstractions, three short feet  
From actuality my fingers itched  
For pen and paper. It let him go. He fell.  
I had not thought to hear him thump like that.

The siren whoops at twelve o'clock;  
after the initial shock,  
you know you've made it up the day  
and now it's downhill all the way.  
Two times twelve around the face  
one hand has gone, and one hand twice,  
for nothing wound by worried men  
has not come unwound again.  
You lift a thoughtless hand to twist  
the ticking insect on your wrist,  
and think before you turn your back  
that time will creep through every crack  
and men instead of watches run  
the day the siren whoops at one.

*Conrad Knickerbocker was born in Berlin and lives in Kansas City. He has published articles and reviews in the Kansas City Star and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. He has previously appeared in FOCUS/Midwest.*

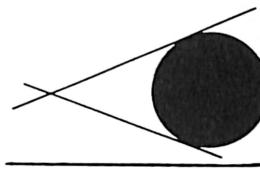
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# DONALD FINKEL

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*Donald Finkel is an Assistant Professor of English at Washington University. His book of poetry, "The Clothing's New Emperor," was published by Charles Scribner's Sons. Mr. Finkel's poems have been published widely in magazines and anthologies.*

*FOCUS/Midwest*



## BOOKS

### On Farm Policies

CROSS FIRE: The Eight Years With Eisenhower, *Ezra Taft Benson*. (Doubleday & Co., Inc. \$6.95, 627 pp.)

THE FARM BUREAU AND THE NEW DEAL, *Christiana McFadyen Campbell*. (University of Illinois Press, \$4.75, 215 pp.)

Ezra Taft Benson was perhaps the most controversial member of the Eisenhower cabinet. Certainly he was controversial longer than any of the others, because he and Arthur Summerfield, postmaster general, were the only original appointees who stayed for eight years, and Summerfield, by common consent, occupied a relatively cool seat.

Benson's book is essentially a defense of the farm policies he espoused. It offers interesting glimpses, though, of the relationships between Eisenhower and a cabinet member and is remarkably intimate and folksy in its frequent digressions into the family life and the beliefs of this man who was called into government from the Council of the Twelve Apostles of the Mormon Church.

It was apparent at the time that Dwight Eisenhower relied entirely on outside recommendations for his appointment of a secretary of agriculture. Some said Benson was Dr. Milton Eisenhower's choice.

Benson critics have charged that he came into a "businessmen's" administration at the insistence of processing industries whose raw material sources and prices are affected by government farm programs. Benson leaves the matter for historians to speculate about. He acknowledges that there may have been something to the talk that Senator Taft was among his sponsors, but he insists he discovered in 1952 that "it is possible for a man to be nominated and appointed as a cabinet officer without ever knowing who his chief sponsors were."

Whatever his sponsorship, Benson was a conservative. While he did not attempt to take the government out

of agriculture, that was his long-range hope. He went into office with deep-seated feelings against many of the policies that had been championed by his predecessors, but he recognized that the various programs that had been instituted to help farmers through the depression and those designed to stimulate production during World War II could not be thrown out overnight.

Most of the legislation of the Benson years represented compromise with congressional farm leaders, including Republicans as well as Democrats. His most powerful ally was the American Farm Bureau Federation, and he was under almost constant attack by spokesmen for the Farmers Union. We have his word that his course was generally satisfactory to the President he served, though he tells us that on one or two occasions the President admonished him gently to recognize certain practicalities of politics.

In a chapter on his conservative creed he warns against big government. He is disturbed by the fact that public ownership of electric power facilities has jumped from 5 per cent in 1920 to 25 per cent, but overlooks some history that helped bring this about, including the high-handedness of the private power companies when farmers first started asking for service some 30 years ago.

While he pays tribute to what the Rural Electrification Administration has done for farmers, he does not get into some other areas where farmers are handicapped by their individual smallness in a society where industries with which they must deal are as big as whole states.

Having been secretary of the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives five years, he might have said a few words for cooperatives as a substitute in some situations for the government programs he would like to get rid of, but in his book, as he was in office, he is stingy with his praise of cooperatives.

He doesn't mention the troubles that led to Sherman Adams' resignation, but he devotes a chapter to

Richard Nixon and the 1960 Presidential campaign. He would have favored Nelson Rockefeller over Nixon as the Republican candidate, and he thought that Nixon aides repudiated some of his agricultural policies.

In farm economics as well as politics Benson is ever the moralist. But while he frowns on government aid to farmers, he does not bother to point out that the commercial airlines and the shipping interests are heavily subsidized. He cites all the evils of big farm surpluses without likening at least a portion of our stored food stocks to our big government stockpiles of lead, zinc, and other items considered essential to war.

There is no question but that farm surpluses piled up during his eight years in office. But while this was going on the American consumer was getting a bargain in food. The farmer, however, was watching his share of the national food dollar become smaller and smaller and his average net income continue to fall behind the average of workers in other segments of our economy. Productive efficiency on the farm improved tremendously during this period, but the consumer rather than the farmer got the major reward.

The failure of farm income to keep up with other forms of income and with the rising land prices is the heart of the so-called farm problem. And the problem is still with us.

Harold Hamil

### Favors Foreign Aid

THE WHEAT PROBLEM Which Road Shall We Take?, *Murray R. Benedict*, (National Planning Association, \$1.00, 37 pp.)

The wheat problem looks easy only from the outside. From a distance, the answer is simple: "We are raising twice as much wheat as we can eat or sell for cash. This over-production comes from high price supports on wheat. Cut out the price supports and the problem is licked."

When you look closer, you find that there are a dozen wheat problems not one. Some kinds of wheat—durum, for instance—may be in short supply while another kind—hard red winter wheat—is in heavy surplus.

Dr. Murray R. Benedict of the University of California has, in this NPA report, reviewed the complex problems of the wheat farmer.

Take hard red winter wheat, for instance. Much of it is grown on land that has erratic and inadequate rain-

fall and that is subject to wind erosion. For the sake of soil conservation as well as of the surplus problem, much of this land should be shifted from wheat to grass.

But how do you do it? By government purchase and management? By benefits to farmers who voluntarily make the change? And if the shift is made, what do you do with the surplus farmers left over? What happens to the small towns in the area? How do you change a wheat farmer into a cattle rancher?

Benedict raises a further question. It is that hard red winter wheat that makes up the bulk of our food exports in the foreign aid program. If we cut down production here, what happens to our wheat shipments to India and to other nations?

The Agriculture Committee of NPA, in presenting this report, cautiously and sensibly notes, "For the long-term program, the Committee would emphasize the need to plan in terms of 10 years, 20 years or even longer. In those terms, a good deal of land with a high weather and erosion risk should be taken out of grain production." But only—as NPA does not note—over the dead bodies of some congressmen and some chambers of commerce.

Dr. Benedict, after presenting many aspects of the wheat problem comes up with some hopeful suggestions. He thinks, for instance, that hand-outs of grain to needy nations have been of some help and may be of much greater help in the future.

Without criticising our national "Food for Peace" program, Dr. Benedict makes it clear that he has more hope in an international program headed up by FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization) and its "Freedom from Hunger" campaign.

Benedict says that a program of international aid on an expanded scale might "defer for some years the need for any sharp cut-back in U.S. wheat production, but would not forestall it indefinitely. Presumably cereal production is one of the lines that many of the low diet countries could build up fairly quickly if modern techniques are put into effect."

Benedict concludes, "If national and international food aid programs develop, as now seems possible, there will apparently be need and use for most if not all the supplies available or likely to become available, over the next five years."

This is a report which ought to be read by anybody who wants to think intelligently about wheat and its problems. Dr. Benedict has also taken

the risk to put forward some suggestions of his own which are the product of his long experience in this field, from the days of the old Farm Board to the present FAO.

Donald R. Murphy

## A Poet On Poetry

OXFORD ADDRESSES ON POETRY, *Robert Graves* (Doubleday and Co., Inc., \$3.95, 141 pp.)

"Since the age of fifteen," Robert Graves writes in "The White Goddess," "poetry has been my ruling passion and I have never intentionally undertaken any task or formed any relationship that seemed inconsistent with poetic principles." Few writers have practiced such single-minded devotion to poetry as Graves or have been so consistent in their views on the art. For forty years, for instance, since publishing his study "On English Poetry" (1922) he has preached the differences between Apollonian or analytic poetry and Muse or inspired poetry. His election last year to the poetry chair at Oxford University gave him a further opportunity to vent his ideas and feelings on this subject and to declare himself, as usual, on the Muse's side.

In all six of these essays delivered at Oxford the old feud flares up again. It is an offshoot, or more accurately a refinement, of the old quarrel between "classic" and "romantic" — terms Graves uses subtly as a classical scholar who professes the "uncontrolled" romantic style.

In the first two essays Graves champions "The Dedicated Poet" of emotional trance, John Skelton, and deflates "The Anti-Poet," Virgil, as a drudging opportunist. In the third essay, "The Personal Muse," he recounts the theme of "The White Goddess" and traces the origins of English love-poetry from Gaelic, Provençal, and Arabic sources. The other three pieces are rambling addresses on "Poetic Gold," a bitter comment on the awarding of "gold" medals of base material; "The Word Baraka," an Islamic term for lightning, which Graves transmutes into "blessedness," and "The Poet's Paradise," an account of Graves's experience of eating hallucigenic psilocybe mushrooms.

As in "The Crowning Privilege" (1956), Graves is tart, entertaining, and self-revealing in the "Oxford Addresses." Yet one must read the "Collected Poems" (1961) of Graves to get a true insight into his sense of poetic values, to see the poet's

strengths and defects. On the minus side Graves, despite all his mumbo jumbo on the Muse, hasn't written poems which make "the hairs stand on end" (Housman's practical razor test of a "true poem"). In a curious critique he calls Raleigh's "Walsingham" — a ballad inferior to Keats's "La Belle Dame" — "the most compelling of all Muse poems in English." And while tilting at other poets he ignores their best Muse or "trance" poems: Yeats's "He Remembers Forgotten Beauty," for instance, and Pound's "The Alchemist."

As a scholar of poetic legends, however, he is one of the strongest influences of our time on certain young American and English poets. One wonders, indeed, what directions many young poets would take without Graves who not only pulls down the new idols of academicism, machinery, and commercialized entertainment but restores a purpose to poetry, a dignity to traditional myths, and mysteries.

Charles Guenther

## BOOKS FOR FOCUS

"*Gilkerson on War*," by Bill Gilkerson (McGraw Hill Book Co., \$3.50, 63 pp.) A deadpan satire on man and the changing art of war. The emphasis is on the pictures, hundreds of water color and ink drawings, crowded with authentic and hilarious detail, showing the little man's progress in weaponry from rocks to rockets — and finally back to rocks.

"*Impressionist Painting*," by Albert Chatelet (Color Slide Books of the World's Art, McGraw Hill Book Co., \$8.95, 48 pp.) A new kind of art book, containing 24 color slides as well as black and white plates of paintings from the French impressionist school. The artists included are Manet, Monet, Pisarro, Renoir, Morisot, Cassat, Degas, Sisley, and Cezanne. The analysis of impressionism and the commentary on the paintings by Albert Chatelet, Director of the Lille Museum, are illuminating. The presentation of color slides is particularly appropriate for these artists, with their preoccupation with light, color, and the out-of-doors.

REVIEWERS: *Harold Hamil* is with the Consumers Cooperative Association; *Donald R. Murphy* is a contributing editor of *Wallace's Farmer*; and *Charles Guenther* is a poet and reviewer.

## FOR THE CONSUMER

### Federal Trade Commission

**Complaint** (Respondents are granted 30 days in which to file an answer.)

False advertising charges were announced by the FTC against two concerns selling land in Lake Valley, Oregon. They are Harney County Land Development Corp., 417 S. Jefferson St., Chicago, Ill., and Harney County Escrow Co., Inc., 150 W. Washington St., Burns, Ore.

Viobin Corp., Monticello, Ill., has been charged by the FTC with falsely advertising that its "Viobin Wheat Germ Oil" and "Prometol" will have a beneficial effect upon the heart, will reduce cholesterol in the blood, and may increase one's physical strength, vigor and endurance.

**Initial Decision** (These are not final and may be reviewed by the Commission.)

An order by an FTC hearing examiner would require admiral Corp., 3800 W. Cortland St., Chicago, to stop discriminating in prices and promotional allowances among competing resellers of its products.

FTC hearing examiner ruled that Continental Products, Inc., 2030 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, has made

fictitious pricing and savings claims and has misrepresented it sells all items at wholesale prices.

**Consent Orders** (Respondents' agreement to discontinue challenged practices is for settlement purposes only and does not constitute an admission of a violation of law.)

FTC has issued a consent order forbidding Albert and Margaret Finkel, trading under their own names and as Royal Furs at 1003 Main St., Kansas City, Mo., to misbrand and falsely invoice furs.

Max M. Barth, trading as Charles Barth & Sons, 190 N. State St., Chicago, has consented to an FTC order forbidding him to misbrand and falsely invoice fur products and illegally substitute labels on them.

Bramson, Inc., 160 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, has consented to an FTC order forbidding it to misbrand and falsely invoice and advertise fur products it sells, illegally substitute labels on them, and make false pricing and savings claims.

The FTC announced issuance of a consent order halting pricing, savings and guarantee misrepresentations by Wesco Products Co., 2300 South Parkway, Chicago.

**STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION** (Act of October 23, 1962; Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code). 1. Date of filing, Sept. 30, 1963; 2. Title of publication, FOCUS/Midwest; 3. Frequency of issue, Monthly except for one combination issue for March and April; 4. Location of known office of publication (Street, city, county, state, zip code), 884 Berick Drive, St. Louis, Missouri, 63132; 5. Location of the headquarters of general business offices of the publishers (Not printers), 884 Berick Drive, St. Louis, Missouri, 63132; 6. Names and addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor, Publisher (Name and address) Charles L.

Klotzer, 884 Berick Drive, St. Louis, Missouri, 63132; Editor (Name and address) Charles L. Klotzer, 884 Berick Drive, St. Louis, Missouri, 63132; Managing Editor (Name and address) None; 7. Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given.) Name, FOCUS/Midwest Publishing Company, Inc., P.O. B. 3086, St. Louis 30, Missouri; Charles L. Klotzer, 884 Berick Dr., St. Louis 32, Mo.; Dr. William H. Danforth, 7 Black Creek La., St. Louis 24, Mo.; Richard Yalem, 120 S. Central, St. Louis 5, Mo.; Eugene Buder, 50 Fair Oaks, St. Louis 24, Mo.; Mrs. Libby Bass, 29 Lennox, St. Louis 8, Mo.; Mark D. Eagleton, 4608 Tower Grove Pl., St. Louis 10, Mo.; Sam Shaikowitz, 722 Chestnut, St. Louis 1, Mo.; Sidney Lawrence, 490 W. 58th Terrace, Kansas City 13, Mo.; Mugwumps, Inc., c/o Anthony K. Nugent, Jr., Treas., 424 W. 61st Terrace, Kansas City 13, Mo.; Mrs. Edwin E. Clarkson, 6728 Cherry, Kansas City 31, Mo.; Robert T. Drake, 711 Sheridan Rd.; Winnetka, Ill.; Louis A. Lerner, 7519 N. Ashland Ave.; Chicago 26, Ill.; Robert F. Picken, 1228 E. 56th, Chicago 37, Ill.; Charles Benton, 2717 Lincoln; (Evanston, Ill.); Rockhurst College, 5225 Troost Ave., Kansas City 10, Mo.; H. Jackson Daniel, 459 E. Jackson Rd., St. Louis 19, Mo.; Dr. Walter A. Younge, 4903 Wabada, St. Louis 13, Mo.; Theodore Martin, 818 Olive, St. Louis 1, Mo.; Dick H. Mudge, Jr., 736 Randle, Edwardsville, Ill.; Dr. Anthony K. Busch, 6347 Nottingham, St. Louis 9, Mo.; Dr. Gerald A. Ehrenreich, 751 E. 63rd St., Kansas City, Mo.; Dr. L. Pellegrino, 215 N. Elmwood Ave., Oak Park, Ill.; Samuel N. Katzin, 6522 S. Cottage Grove, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. Jasper Williams, 408 E. Marquette, Chicago 37, Ill.; Mrs. Marcus A. Hirsch, 5649 S. Woodlawn; Chicago 37, Ill.; Sigmund Kunstadter, 400 S. Peoria St., Chicago 7, Ill. 8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities (If there are none, so state): None; 9. Paragraphs 7 and 8 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner. Names and addresses of individuals who are stockholders of a corporation which itself is a stockholder or holder of bonds, mortgages or other securities of the publishing corporation have been included in paragraphs 7 and 8 when the interests of such individuals are equivalent to 1 percent or more of the total amount of the stock or securities of the publishing corporation. 10. This item must be completed for all publications except those which do not carry advertising other than the publisher's own and which are named in sections 132.231, 132.232, and 132.233. Postal Manual (Sections 4355a, 4355b, and 4356 of Title 39, United States Code)

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Acceptable Risk	2000	200	100	730,000	73,000	36,500
Chicago	60	29	10	10,520	5,775	10,860
Kansas City	240	30	10	32,705	7,105	14,850
St. Louis	160	38	10	22,365	6,202	8,760

#### HIGHEST REPORTS FROM THROUGHOUT THE NATION

Minot, N.D.	320	62	10	53,865	13,055	37,040
All testing stations						
New Orleans, La.						
Little Rock, Ark.						
Palmer, Alaska						

# The Far Right

By Donald Janson  
and Bernard Eismann



**F**AR Right activity has been intense and widespread since 1958. What accounts for its penetration into American homes and communities? Basically its appeal is to the frustrated, the ill-informed, the thoughtless, the insecure, the suspicious, or the bigoted.

In the autumn of 1961 Representative Rousselot inserted in the *Congressional Record* an article by Slobodan M. Draskovich, a member of the National Council of the John Birch Society and editor of *Srpska Borba*, a Serbian nationalist weekly newspaper published in Chicago. This rambling, vitriolic attack on the Liberal Establishment pointed up the frustrations of the Right: "Are the Liberals worried because recent events have filled the American cup of bitter disappointment, humiliation, appeasement, containment, surrender and shame to the brim?" Are they alarmed, Draskovich asked rhetorically, "at the USSR launching a man into space before us," at Laos, at Cuba,

From the **FAR RIGHT** by Donald Janson and Bernard Eismann, published by the McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. Copyright © 1963 by Donald Janson and Bernard Eismann. Eismann is a contributing editor of *FOCUS/Midwest*.

at the visit to the United States of the "criminal" Khrushchev, at aid to Tito, and at the United States path "from defeat to defeat"?

Current world crises have indeed engendered doubt and dissatisfaction. Yalta, Potsdam, and Berlin; the U-2; Cuba—these and similar events have given rise to a sense of strain and anxiety throughout the body politic. But only the extremists attribute whatever errors of judgment have been made and whatever situations resist simple solutions to bad faith on the part of government officials, and only they blame the cold-war stalemate on an internal Communist conspiracy. Only the Far Outs impute treasonous intent to the Supreme Court, the Congress, and a wide variety of social, cultural, and religious agencies. Only the Arch Rightists believe that Russian achievements are traceable to American duplicity and connivance; and only they see the solution in substituting for democratic institutions the doctrinaire, totalitarian structure of the Communist Party and the John Birch Society.

Few thoughtful persons would question the fact that Soviet-led world communism constitutes a serious threat to Western democracy. Yet few are frightened enough to succumb to the unbounded suspicions that plague the Radical Right; few are deluded enough to part with reason and embrace the tangled web of paranoia.

"The paranoid personality often gives an impression of self-sufficiency, superiority and certainty," the *American Handbook of Psychiatry* says. "This impression in no way represents the basic internal situation, but only a fixed inability to allow anything to enter which might upset a precarious equilibrium." The handbook also describes the individual who is most vulnerable to paranoia as "a tense, insecure and usually fearful person, one who operates at high levels of anxiety. He usually becomes suspicious and distrustful. He finds it difficult to confide in others and if he does confide . . . he expects to be betrayed."

Few so troubled can put much faith in the administration to combat communism or in the FBI to expose it adequately, particularly when their fears are skillfully exploited by equally anxious demagogues. To the suspicious or naive, it is sometimes sufficient that a crusader label his efforts "anti-Communist." The possibility that some of his ideas may be dangerous is not investigated.

The frustrations of the Right are as severe on the domestic as on the international front. The Fringe is concerned about high taxes, rising living costs, racial integration, and federal assumption of responsibility for educational, medical, housing, and other needs of the citizens.

Unemployment is a specter for those who fear that a swiftly changing technology will deprive them of job and dignity alike. And moral laxity is a threat to those who do not see how to cope with shifts in social disciplines and changes in traditional values. These are shifts, they fear, that threaten to lead their children from the paths of righteousness and to prevent perpetuation of the established order.

Ultraconservative leaders have had considerable success, simply by preaching anti-communism, in rallying not only religious fundamentalists concerned about heresy but also political, economic, and social fundamentalists concerned about the liberal trends that are threatening their values. Any movement toward racial equality, more effective political democracy, or far-reaching social change is attributed to conspiracy with communism.

Unlike groups that accept the opinions of their op-

ponents as sincere and their actions in the democratic process as honest efforts, the Far Right believes there is no valid opinion except its own. In particular, there are no two ways to fight communism. You either lick the enemy or appease him. Any effort toward accommodation is appeasement, a step toward total defeat. This either-or philosophy includes the tenet that those who reject the "win" choice accept the "defeat" alternative. Thus, ever since the cold war began, every administration has had a "no-win" philosophy.

What the Far Right wants is unchallenged world supremacy and the resulting freedom to return to the relatively uncomplicated life of the nineteenth century. This calls for winning the cold war immediately. Enough of "no-win" delay and stalemate; attack now. Rickenbacker asks in a Christian Crusade speech: "Why not now? Are we afraid to fight with all our powers? Why don't we stamp out the pestilence? Why not die for a good cause?"

The "win" philosophy, never spelled out but always alluded to, apparently boils down to nuclear attack on Communist nations.

"If someone thinks we should have a nuclear war in order to win," President Kennedy told a 1962 news conference, "I can inform them that there will not be winners. . . . We have to proceed with responsibility and with care in an age where the human race can obliterate itself."

Continued stalemate or mutual concessions, intolerable as such a fate seems to the Far Right, appeal to the good sense of the vast majority of Americans more than holocaust. To responsible citizens not trapped by the either-or choice of the extremists, existence is not synonymous with appeasement. As Under Secretary of State George W. Ball has pointed out, "the conduct of foreign affairs today is an intricate, subtle, changing and always uncertain task."

The Far Right applies its either-or philosophy with equal force to domestic affairs. Any person, church, school, governmental department, or program that is not "free enterprise" of the Birch brand is liberal, therefore socialistic, therefore communistic and treasonous. This, the Radicals say, is the real root of the nation's troubles with communism—subversion right here at home. In the past, such outcroppings have been rejected, after a good airing, by prevailing common sense. The untenable positions of the current Rightist Movement have been repeatedly exposed. But there is no denying that the baffled, the ill-informed, and the immature—in large numbers—have provided a fertile field for the hysteria, suspicion, and disunity being sown in the name of anticommunism.

This Rightest-fundamentalist audience is scattered throughout the country but, except for a few pockets on the coasts, is heaviest in the South and Midwest. It includes few Negroes and Jews. Nor has there been any great surge of farm or labor support. The vocal mainstay has been business and conservative professional people in small towns and suburbs. This is not to say that the nation's business community is Far Right. Liberals have been too often guilty of lumping all conservatives with the small group of arch-reactionaries among businessmen. Yet the responsible elements of the business community have not spoken out sufficiently to make it perfectly clear that they feel the line of demarcation between a free enterprise system and Birch-type nihilism is pronounced and that the businessmen who put up so much money for the cause of the Far Right are a small minority.

Meanwhile, the professional and commercial anti-Communists have managed to convince the gullible that

they should use Communist tactics against fellow Americans to prevent the spread of imagined subversion in schools and treason in government. They have persuaded the confused and thoughtless that some religious denominations are riddled with Communist pastors, and that such institutions as Brotherhood Week and the United Nations Children's Fund are suspect. Racial integration means mongrelization. Watch those who write about or touch upon current facts and problems in textbooks. The result of all this damagogery is neighborhood fear and suspicion. The Movement, which seeks to appeal to Christian morality, is markedly un-Christian.

The damage done locally by this mischief should not be underestimated. This is especially true in the smaller communities. Organized pressure to intimidate teachers, ministers, librarians, editors, and others has had some success, especially in small towns where leading citizens join Radical Right groups and condone such methods as anonymous 2 a.m. telephone calls.

In time, the President said in Los Angeles, "the basic good sense and stability of the great American consensus has always prevailed." Meanwhile, the purveyors of fear have found a following and continue to spread their divisive influence.

How long will their rantings find even limited acceptance? Unless there are further upheavals of the magnitude of Cuba, it may not be long. Conservatives who speak for the Reasonable Right, which will always be a force in the democratic system, have taken strong steps to scuttle the Radicals. Robert Welch's wild charges have repelled many who first acclaimed his desire to alert the nation to the Communist menace. Reasonable conservatives are well aware that the nation faces real problems that must be met realistically and that there is no place for misrepresentation in an authentic anti-Communist effort.

Thus William F. Buckley notes that Welch continued to hold such views as that former President Eisenhower was a Communist agent long after the nation had recoiled at the absurdity of the charge. Buckley also tears apart such Welchian extravagances as the view that the Cuban invasion fiasco of 1961 was engineered by the United States government in league with Fidel Castro in order to solidify Communist power in Havana. Buckley, Russell Kirk, Barry Goldwater, and other conservative voices respected by the Regular Right have sought to condemn Welch to ignominy as a man whose judgment is so sadly flawed that he has become a hazard to the Conservative movement. More and more Conservatives once devoted simultaneously to Goldwater, Buckley, and Welch have found it necessary to make a choice. The thoughtful among them are going over the Welchian intemperances more carefully now that spokesmen in their own camp have labeled them for what they are. When decent, industrious businessmen and others of intelligence realize that they, having aligned themselves with crackpots, are the real dupes, the result is likely to be desertion of Welch by all but the confirmed extremists. Solid conservatism will be stronger as a national force as a result of dissociation from extremism.

What of Rightists, whether followers of Welch, Hargis, or others, who do little independent thinking? Their re-education will take longer. Those who follow blindly are ignorant of the facts about communism, yet less accessible than others to rebuttal. But strong efforts are under way to reach them by important organizations alarmed at the headway the Far Right has made. The efforts of the Catholic Church are important because of the original

# The Far Right



success the Birch Society had among Catholics. The booklet issued by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, central administrative unit of the country's Catholic bishops, was for use in sermons, parish study clubs, parochial schools, and church publications in all dioceses. The author, Father Cronin, long-time expert on communism, called its publication the beginning of "a campaign for sanity" in meeting Communist threats. The basic threat is external, not internal, the booklet points out, and extremists are misdirecting their energies by concentrating on "problems that were mostly solved by 1950."

Father Cronin says hysteria and suspicion are becoming increasingly evident in many parts of the country as a result of extremists' identifying "whatever ideas they happen to dislike" with communism.

"When every discussion with the Communist powers is considered a sign of weakness or even treason," the booklet says, "then we are left with only two stark alternatives: surrender or war. Surely our common sense should tell us that we should seek some middle course between these extremes.

"A mature and strong people has the inner strength to live with occasional frustration and failure. It does not cry disloyalty every time its will is thwarted. When honest mistakes of judgment are made, it seeks to correct them through the democratic process. Temper tantrums resulting from frustrations are not welcomed even in young children. In adults, they are signs of serious immaturity."

An appeal to common sense also has been made on a wide scale in most Protestant churches, in the seminars of the American Bar Association, and in the press.

Delineation of the Communist threat for the edification of the general public is no longer being left entirely to the Far Right, with the result that gradually information is replacing fear and hate. Discourse with the nondemocrats will continue as long as there is a Lunatic Fringe. It occurs in an arena in which every individual and institution appalled by the Fringe can take up arms in defense of the open society. This is the arena of exposure and communication, where good sense usually prevails and bad sense is kept at bay. The open-air atmosphere of this arena would stifle the destructive philosophy of the Far Right whether Goldwater and Company had ever repudiated it or not.

Even the military support the extremists have enjoyed has largely evaporated except among some retired officers of high rank. It slackened markedly after the crackdown on Walker. Without prescribing a strait jacket, the Kennedy administration has reaffirmed and toughened the nation's traditional civilian control of the military. Improved troop and officer education will eliminate doubt about how far to go in expressing political convictions. Officers have been forcefully reminded that they are never off duty so far as public criticism of democratically established national policies is concerned.

Jealousies within the Radical Right may further vitiate the Movement. Suspicious leaders of the chronically disorganized Far Right never have found it possible to work together effectively. And the fulcrum of the Extreme Right, the John Birch Society, has become the butt of a tide of jokes that tend to lump its adherents together as clowns or bigots.

The folk-singing Chad Mitchell Trio's "John Birch Society," a record at first banned as too controversial by CBS, ABC, and all Los Angeles AM stations, neatly summed up the jibes in these lyrics:

Do you want Justice Warren to be your commissar?

Do you want Nina Khrushchev in there with the DAR? You cannot trust your neighbor or even next of kin. If Mommy is a Commie then you gotta turn her in.

But the Far Right, though it has been dragged into the glare of merciless publicity, is determined to try to carry on despite the handicap. All criticism is dismissed as Communist-inspired persecution. Welch has built a tight, sturdy organization. Hargis has a dedicated following in the Bible Belt. The crowds attracted to the Schwarz spectacles, although increasingly sprinkled with the merely curious, continue to hold up in centers of conservatism. None of the leaders who have gained power, position, attention, and income are likely to slip back into anonymity without a struggle. The extremists still exercise political influence in some states and localities. And in these years of cold war and racial tensions there could be plenty of frustrations ahead for the Far Right to feed on.

Negro militancy and growing government enforcement of civil rights will test white tolerance even outside the Deep South. Religious rivalries between the fundamentalists and liberals show no signs of abating and are likely to sharpen. Frustrations abroad also are bound to continue. The frightened may reel again under Russian scientific achievements and saber-rattling. This decade may produce rumblings of new perils from Communist China. Another shock of the magnitude of the Communist build-up in Cuba could cause a surge of angry despair and temporary gains in financing and membership of the Radical Right. If United States influence in the United Nations wanes with the increased number and authority of new nations, the Far Right will have paroxysms. Setbacks in brush wars will be charged to treason, and so will summity and foreign aid.

If the John Birch Society had the power to make its policies those of the nation, it would be more effectively subversive than the Communist Party, because the United States soon would be strangled both economically and politically and would indeed be ripe for Communist takeover. But the Far Right is destined eventually to founder, as the Far Left has, on the rock of reason and public discourse. There are no indications that any totalitarian formula will attract any lasting support in this country; the stabilizing political center is far too strong to yield to nondemocratic influences. Ultraconservatism is a ripple to be reckoned with but is not a wave of the future. Self-government is here to stay. So are taxes. So is discourse. With or without the approval of the Far Right, true patriotism and American resourcefulness probably will continue to keep the Communist menace from making any effective headway in the United States.